Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-110
Friday
9 June 1989

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GDR's Ambassador Ernst Views NATO Proposals

AU0206122789 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 2 Jun 89

[Interview with Ambassador Klaus Dieter Ernst, head of the GDR delegation to the Vienna talks on conventional stability in Europe, by Roland Machatschke in Vienna—recorded, date not given]

[Text] [Machatschke] Ambassador Ernst, this week you yourself presented the latest Warsaw Pact proposals at the negotiating table. Now the latest NATO proposals have come from Brussels, even though they are not yet detailed. How do you assess the chances for agreement now, at a time when most matters have been put on the table?

[Ernst] This week we presented the last parts of the proposals of the socialist side. These are very specific proposals on the reduction of tanks, armored combat vehicles, artillery, attack aircraft, combat helicopters, and troop strengths—that is, six categories. These reductions are to be carried out all over Europe and in individual European regions, for which we have set specific ceilings. To give just a general overview, this involves the reduction of about 2 million soldiers, 10,000 tanks and armored combat vehicles, artillery systems, and thousands of aircraft and combat helicopters—in other words, it involves quite large dimensions.

Our proposals have made a great deal of concessions in many questions to the NATO ideas. The ceilings we proposed are partly lower than the ones NATO proposes; concerning some components, for instance concerning attack aircraft, combat helicopters, and troop strengths there is not yet any way to compare the respective plans, because NATO has so far excluded these attack systems from its proposals.

We proceed from the premise that the—still quite general—proposal that has now arrived from Brussels provides hope that these gaps concerning attack aircraft, combat helicopters, and troop strengths can now be closed. If this happens, it would be very reasonable and would clearly be a step in the right direction.

[Machatschke] With its Brussels decision, NATO has in some way linked the Vienna talks on conventional troop reduction with future talks on short-range nuclear missiles in Europe. What does the Warsaw Pact think of this link?

[Ernst] You know that we proposed the start of separate negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons. We are not particularly happy that NATO has linked different levels of negotiations. We think that the negotiations on conventional forces are extremely important, in the same way as negotiations on tactical nuclear forces are also very important in their own right. It is certainly not particularly good if one makes one important level of negotiations the hostage of another important level of negotiations. It would be more reasonable to quickly reach agreements, or at least a start of negotiations, regarding tactical nuclear weapons so as not to permit any blank spots in any field of armament in Europe.

[Machatschke] NATO speaks of 6 to 12 months during which it hopes that substantive results will be reached in Vienna. Do the delegations in Vienna now feel under pressure because of this?

[Ernst] We do not feel under pressure, and even if such pressure were to develop, this would not be quite so terrible. We all are interested in achieving results quickly and we will do everything and work with great speed to bring about such agreements. However, it is clear that NATO will probably present its proposals as late as in September, and that a comprehensive evaluation of these proposals—answering the questions of to what extent these proposals correspond to the mandate, and so on—can naturally be made only when we have the proposals on the table here. I do not want to go into any predictions as to the periods involved, but I get the impression that all people, everyone who sits here at the table and I think also all governments who have a say in this matter, want results.

CSSR's Balcar Views Vienna Talks, Proposals

LD0806213489 Prague CTK in English 2043 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] Vienna June 8 (CTK correspondent)—"The proposal for troop and armament cuts submitted by Mikhail Gorbachev at a meeting with U.S. President George Bush and Secretary of State James Baker ranks among the international issues which have deeply influenced the course of the current Vienna talks", head of the Czechoslovak delegation to the Warsaw Treaty-NATO talks on conventional forces in Europe taking place here these days, Ladislav Balcar told CTK on Thursday.

He pointed out that President Bush's proposal submitted at the recent NATO summit in Brussels is a serious and constructive proposal meeting half-way the position of the Warsaw Treaty states and creating scope for a dialogue on the six categories of conventional armed forces.

Both Warsaw Treaty and NATO states must exert much more joint efforts to reach an agreement. Differences still exist mainly in the sphere of the air force, Ladislav Balcar underlined.

The proposals now under discussion in Vienna provide already now a broad basis for further talks. The current negotiations are taking place in a constructive atmosphere, the Czechoslovak ambassador said. Political will to hold operative talks without useless delays so typical for previous forums is now apparent. "We believe that the spirit of the talks will be preserved. Otherwise, President Bush's demand for ending the talks within 12 months would become unreal", Ladislav Balcar said.

"The fact is that since World War II, the situation has never been so favourable for solving such important questions as conventional armament in Europe. This opportunity must be be used", Ladislav Balcar stressed.

Bulgarian Army Expert Discusses START Talks
AU0806153989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Jun 89 p 4

[Interview with Major General Kamen Petrov, chief of the group on confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army, by Ivanka Khlebarova: "Before the START Talks: Updating or Additional Armament"—date, place not given]

[Text] The Soviet-American talks on strategic offensive arms are to begin shortly in Geneva. Developments in the contemporary world have shown the need for real cooperation between the USSR and United States in the disarmament field. At the same time the Pentagon is continuing to implement its well-known plans aimed at rearmament and additional armament. Major General Kamen Petrov, chief of the group on confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army, answers questions from Ivanka Khlebarova on this subject.

[Khlebarova] Intense discussions are going on today on the issues connected with updating tactical nuclear missiles. Does the updating also cover strategic offensive arms?

[Petrov] I would like first of all to speak about the concept of "updating" itself. In the study entitled "Endless Updating," prepared by the Peace and Conflicts Research Foundation (Helsinki, April 1989), it is emphasized that the concept "updating" conceals from the broad public the fact that in general the issue concerns not only "improving" such systems as the "Lance" missile, but also "structuring NATO's entire nuclear potential," thereby "compensating" for the military capacities after the signing of the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty.

The same "broad" interpretation of this concept may be applied to the subject of U.S. strategic offensive weapons.

As soon as it assumed office, the Reagan administration directed its efforts toward achieving strategic nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union, declared its opposition to the SALT-2 Treaty and caused its ratification to fail, and then adopted an all-embracing program for updating all components of strategic offensive weapons. In essence, this opened a new stage in the strategic arms race.

The program set itself the goal of creating a potential to deal an "disarming" nuclear first strike, in order to nullify or greatly weaken the Soviet Union's counter-strike capacity.

The updating is aimed at improving the accuracy and increasing the invulnerability of the means of delivery, and substantially increasing the number of nuclear warheads while leaving the number of delivery vehicles relatively unchanged. It is well known that the circular probable error of the "Minuteman-2," one of the older types of intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM), is over 600 m, whereas that of the "MX Peacekeeper" is up to 100 m. A formula exists according to which a doubling of accuracy permits an eight-fold reduction in the warhead yield in order to achieve the same effect on the target.

Modern ICBM's carry a larger number of individually targeted warheads. Recently, work has been in progress on developing warheads that can penetrate beneath the ground, with the aim of more reliably ensuring the destruction of underground control centers or missile silos.

[Khlebarova] What can you say more specifically about the actual program for updating the U.S. strategic offensive weapons?

[Petrov] In addition to the existing "Minuteman" ICBM's of the older generation (a total of 950 missiles), it is planned to deploy 50 "MX" ICBM's in reinforced "Minuteman-3" silos and a further 50 on rail flatcars. By 1 January 1989, 50 missiles of this type were deployed in underground silos.

Instead of the 500 "Midgetman" ICBM's originally planned, which carried one warhead apiece, 300 missiles will be supplied, each carrying two warheads. This provides financial savings, without reducing fighting efficiency.

Work will continue on implementing the program for building the "Trident" strategic submarine system, comprising "Trident-1" and "Trident-2" missiles and the "Ohio"-type nuclear missile submarine. It is planned to have 15 "Ohio" submarines as a part of the Navy's battle strength by 1995, and 20 by the year 2000. Every submarine will be equipped with 24 missiles, each with eight warheads.

The rearmament of the already outdated "B-52" bombers with cruise missiles and updating of their on-board radioelectronic equipment are in progress.

The production and deployment of air-based long-range cruise missiles are also being carried out.

As a result of the measures taken in the 1981-88 period, the strategic means of delivery of the United States were reduced to about 2,000, while the number of nuclear warheads carried by them increased from around 10,000

to about 14,000. This trend will also be maintained in the future, and by 1995 it is expected that approximately 2,500 U.S. delivery vehicles will be fitted with a total of over 18,000 warheads.

All this provides grounds for certain specialists to claim that, even if a Soviet-U.S. agreement is reached on a 50-percent elimination of strategic offensive forces, the capabilities of these forces on the U.S. side will increase by about one-third during the period of the implementation of the treaty (5-7 years).

[Khlebarova] It is well-known that the Pentagon is now discussing a concept concerning so-called "brilliant pebbles" space strike weapons, which they are intending to include in the basis of the "Star Wars" program.

[Petrov] SDI is aimed at creating an echeloned antimissile defense (ABM) system, including space- and land-based components, to protect U.S. territory against ballistic missiles aimed at it by destroying them during different phases of their flight. SDI is the main element in realizing the idea of achieving a disarming first strike capability without the United States receiving a counter-strike, or, if such a strike takes place, ensuring that the losses incurred are acceptable.

The structure and possible effective strength of the ABM system have still not been finally determined, but it is envisaged that the system will include three levels [eshelona]. The first level is intended to destroy the ICBM's during the initial phase of their flight path, that is, over the territory of the Soviet Union. During this phase the missiles present large and quite vulnerable targets. The second level is intended to destroy the warheads in the intermediate phase of the flight path, and the third is to destroy the surviving warheads during the final phase of flight.

This brings us to the question of the "brilliant pebbles." Recently the press agencies reported the completion of laboratory testing of an interceptor space missile—a component part of the new concept concerning space strike weapons.

What is new in this case is that it is planned to deploy platforms with these homing missiles not only in the first level of ABM defense, but also in the other levels, thus making them the backbone of the "Star Wars" program. The supporters of these ideas maintain that the deployment of about 10,000 such interceptor missiles will eliminate the need for large costly weapon systems.

[Khlebarova] What if deployment of the "brilliant pebbles" proves to be incompatible with the ABM Treaty? The Soviet Union's position on this issue is well known; it was clearly stated during E. Shevardnadze's meeting with J. Baker in Moscow. The Soviet Union once again asserted that the implementation of future cuts in strategic offensive arms is only possible within the framework of observing the ABM Treaty.

[Petrov] SDI itself contravenes the ABM Treaty. The forcing through of the program and the new initiatives associated with it will undoubtedly hamper the work of drafting a treaty on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive arms. U.S. Secretary for Defense R. Cheney recently stated to the U.S. Congress that "if SDI proves to be incompatible with the ABM Treaty, then he will insist on renouncing it."

[Khlebarova] What is the reaction to these new steps in additional armament among military circles and the public at large?

[Petrov] It must be pointed out that the SDI program is continuing to encounter serious resistance in the United States itself. Many American scientists, military men, and diplomats are declaring their opposition to the Pentagon's irresponsibility, and are warning of exceptionally serious consequences for the security of the United States itself and for strategic stability in the world.

Leaders Meet, Speak at CSCE Paris Conference

Bulgaria's Kulishev on 'Crude Attacks'

AU0206121389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Jun 89 p 5

[Excerpts] Paris, 31 May (RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent Pantaley Karasimeonov) The second day's proceedings of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE continued with the plenary statements of foreign ministers and delegation leaders of the 35 states participating in the all-European process. [passage omitted]

Today's speech by Turkish Foreign Minister Mesut Yilmaz was in sharp contrast with the aims and tasks of the Vienna accords and the principles of Helsinki as a whole. Reiterating Ankara's well-known claims concerning Bulgaria, he launched into unfounded, crude attacks against our country. Using the techniques of falsifying and distorting the facts, the Turkish representative merely confirmed his country's intention not only to undermine the bilateral dialogue, but also to discredit the all-European process.

Making use of his right of reply, Lyuben Kulishev, leader of the Bulgarian delegation at the forum, rejected the Turkish minister's unfounded accusations. He stressed that the leading circles in Turkey are undertaking the present campaign guided by Pan-Turkish aspirations to dominate the Muslim population in the neighboring countries, who possess different nationalities. The Bulgarian representative later declared that the intense anti-Bulgarian campaign is pursuing the clear aim of destabilizing the situation in Bulgaria by fomenting religious hostilities on the eve of the Conference on the Human Dimension. As far as Bulgaria's position is concerned, this was clearly expressed in the statement by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, Lyuben Kulishev stated. He drew attention to the fact that the anti-Bulgarian campaign is aimed at distracting world public opinion, which for many years has condemned the mass violation of human rights in Turkey, the physical annihilation of the Kurdish people, and the assimilation of Bulgarians, Armenians, Arabs, and other nationalities.

After the first 2 days, there are great hopes that the work of the conference will proceed in the spirit of understanding and goodwill, but this undoubtedly depends on the political will of every participating country.

CSSR's Johanes Meets France's Dumas

LD0106105189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0700 GMT 1 Jun 89

[Text] Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes, who took part in Paris in the opening of the conference about the human dimension of the European Helsinki process, yesterday met French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas. In their talk they paid particular attention to the implementation of the conclusions of last year's visit by French President Francois Mitterrand to Czechoslovakia, and noted that a certain positive development occured in economic cooperation.

Jaromir Johanes and Roland Dumas also discussed some issues connected with observance of human rights and humanitarian cooperation.

Johanes Meets Other Counterparts

AU0206142589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Jun 89 p 7

[CTK Paris dispatch]

[Excerpt] Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, met in Paris [on 31 May] with his Austrian opposite number Alois Mock. The ministers discussed the present level of relations between the two countries and pointed out the beneficial nature of contacts between the members of government of the two countries. In this connection J. Johanes drew attention to the fact that the pronouncements of some Austrian officials do not respect the principle of the sovereignty of states, run counter to the efforts at reinforcing the positive trends of cooperation, and contain one-sided and unfounded claims about internal developments in the CSSR.

J. Johanes also met with Thorvald Stoltenberg, Norwegian minister of foreign affairs, and Yeoryios Iakovou, Cypriot minister of foreign affairs. [passage omitted]

Johanes Gives Speech

AU0206143189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Jun 89 p 7

["From the Speech" by Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, at the Paris Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE, held on 31 May: "An Equal and Constructive Dialogue—The Interest of All"]

[Text] Addressing the conference, Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, said, among other things, that a forum has opened in Paris that is a completely new element in the development of Europe. The conference on the human dimension is truly one of the pillars, on which—in conformity with the Vienna final document—collaboration in the area of human rights and in humanitarian issues should rest.

The Paris meeting has started at a time when new political thinking is gradually gaining ground in the world, despite various difficulties and obstacles, the minister stressed. Europe plays an important role in this process. At present the utmost should be done to make the positive development trends irreversible. The cold war period should be ended once and for all, as well as the continuing arms race. Thinking, not arms, must be modernized. We must return to our continent the historical role of the region, from which strong impulses of social progress have been coming since long ago for the benefit of the entire human civilization.

The nations of Europe avail themselves of all the prerequisites to move from confrontation and military contest over to the creation of a new structure of security, stability, and broad mutual cooperation. The understanding is making itself felt here, stronger than ever before, that progress is possible only by joint action.

We are able to build on an immense material and spiritual wealth, on the capital of political culture, science and technology, and erudition and humanism created by the nations of our continent. It is precisely here the ideals of democracy and social justice were born. Europe was the cradle of two historic turning points that have had a key influence on the entire global development—the Great French Revolution, the 200th anniversary of which we will soon recall, and the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia in 1917, which gave birth to a new social order, J. Johanes said.

An undreamt-of development of science and technology has become an inseparable part of human history. It has its bright aspects as well as its drawbacks—it makes life easier while, at the same time, perfecting the means for its destruction. It does so on a scale that gives rise to the most profound concern today. The question of the preservation of human life on earth and of man's ability to escape the threat of his own annihilation is coming increasingly to the fore today.

We therefore regard the implementation of all-human interests as the most important aim of our efforts. This requires, first and foremost, the democratization, demilitarization, and humanization of international relations. Concurrently, we must look for ways out of urgent political, economic, and ecological problems. The harmonious development of nations and the guarantee of their security presuppose not only the continued solution of these issues and the continuation of the process of disarmament, but they also presuppose the observance and the deepening of human rights and basic freedoms, the expansion of mutual contacts, and cooperation in the entire humanitarian sphere. It is, after all, through all this that man as the measure of everything enters international politics. The meeting of man's needs and interests, the implementation of his rights and freedoms, and the creation of opportunities for his active participation in international life—all these are today important criteria of harmony between domestic and foreign policy and all-human values.

How To Understand Human Rights

Human rights and basic freedoms form a comprehensive category. The attempts to excessively emphasize certain rights to the detriment of others are thus unwarranted. After all, even the broadest political and civil rights in many respects lose their meaning if the rights to a job, to education, a shelter, health care, and a dignified human existence are not observed in practice.

Of no lesser significance is the fact that the final document of the Vienna follow-up meeting perceives the development of humanitarian cooperation and the issue of human rights as a question concerning all participants in the Helsinki process without exception. The dialogue in Vienna confirmed that it is not only possible, but that it is necessary, to improve the situation in this field in each of the 35 signatory countries. It is also necessary to improve cooperation in the sphere of contacts among people and in other humanitarian questions.

It is in the interest of all of us that the Paris meeting be marked by the spirit of an equal and constructive dialogue. Mutual accusations and ideological disputes have never led to positive results. They just undermined confidence, intensified misunderstanding, and aggravated mutual prejudices. The same applies to attempts to impose upon others one's own notions of democracy, as if they were the only right ones.

The Vienna document supplemented the Helsinki process by the mechanism of a human dimension. Our meeting is to evaluate the first experiences from its operation. We will be able to reach general conclusions when we gain more comprehensive information with its use. We think that the mechanism should not confine itself to a consideration of individual cases but should deal with the discussion of broader issues.

Czechoslovak Approaches

In Czechoslovakia, just as in other socialist countries, processes of the profound restructuring and democratization of all spheres of social life are taking place. They also mean new approaches in foreign policy issues, stressed the minister.

We welcomed the results of the Vienna talks because they are in harmony with our interests and requirements. The CSSR Government has approached their fulfillment responsibly and systematically. In a short period of time we published in a massive print run the complete text of the final document. Thus we are giving the general public a chance to acquaint itself directly and in detail with its contents.

The Vienna final document contains in the sphere of human rights and humanitarian questions a great number of important stipulations whose fulfillment is guaranteed by our valid legal code and is a self-evident element of our everyday life. There, where it seems to be required, we are preparing the necessary measures.

The protection and promotion of human rights is the fundamental principle of the new Czechoslovak Constitution whose preparation has already been begun. The cardinal point will be the arrangement of the relations between the citizen and the state. We want to strengthen the legal position of the citizen and to enhance his rights and liberties.

We are involved in ensuring that the most wide-ranging dialogue possible takes place concerning the improvement and comprehensive use of the democratic and humanistic potential of our socialist system. That our new fundamental law creates broad space for the strengthening and the further development of socialism.

We are preparing an amendment to the election and press laws, changes in the legal arrangement of the position of the church and religious organizations, and in criminal legislature. We are considering a whole series of legal regulations modifying our citizens' travels abroad. On the basis of reciprocity, we are prepared to continue to simplify the regime of issuing visas which today belongs, in an international comparison, among the most flexible and is substantially simpler than the regulations and practice of a number of our Western partners, said J. Johanes.

Czechoslovakia has a sincere interest in the development of multilateral humanitarian collaboration. This is borne out by the fact that this collaboration is, besides the military, political, economic, and ecological spheres, an integral part of our proposal for the creation of a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between Warsaw Pact and NATO states. The contents of this part of the initiative, submitted last year by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, are, inter alia, an expansion of contacts between people, mainly young people, between cities, factories, schools, and scientific institutions, as well as an improvement of conditions for cross-border travel. The broader utilization of the significant potential of cultural ties also belongs here. We are mainly concerned about the comprehensive strengthening of mutual trust and understanding. Toward this aim, as well as toward the creation of better living conditions for mankind, is also directed the initiative of Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier, in the sphere of protecting and shaping the environment in Central Europe, remarked the Czechoslovak representative.

Via the Paris meeting we are commencing a remarkable undertaking which we will continue in Copenhagen and in Moscow. Thus, the Helsinki process has taken on new dimensions. It contains practically all the vitally important issues of today. We ascribe among them a key place to the process of disarmament in Europe. The security of our continent even more urgently demands that issues be contained in it which so far have remained at the sidelines of our common endeavor. Therefore, we welcome all the steps directed toward this aim. For mankind, on the threshold of a new millenium, must not live in fear of its survival.

The Paris meeting, by its outcome, should help in the construction of a common European home. A home with hundreds of millions of people who are expecting from us political goodwill and the resolve to continue forward along the common road—to a Europe of peace, trust, security, and wide-ranging cooperation, said Jaromir Johanes.

CSSR's Dolezel 'Explains' Stand

AU0506153189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 Jun 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Explanation of the Czechoslovak Stand"]

[Text] Paris—The Paris session on the human dimension of the CSCE was yesterday [2 June] addressed by Ambassador Frantisek Dolezel, head of the Czechoslovak delegation. He explained the CSSR stand on international cooperation in the sphere of human rights and humanitarian affairs, emphasizing interest in a constructive and businesslike course of the session, in line with the favorable incentive provided by the opening statements of the majority of ministers of foreign affairs. He pointed out that there is room for improvement in this sector in all the participating states. The Czechoslovak representative also supplied information about the current process of restructuring and intensifying democracy in the CSSR and, in this context, about the attention devoted by the CSSR to the elaboration and implementation of conclusions adopted by the Vienna follow-up CSCE meeting. He briefed the participants on the preparation of the new constitution and on other changes in the Czechoslovak legal regulations; and quoted specific examples of how the stipulations of the Vienna follow-up meeting are being implemented in practice, including such issues as family reunification and travel. He called upon the Western states to shorten the deadlines for granting visas to Czechoslovak citizens and to follow the CSSR's example. He stated that what the head of the British delegation had claimed with regard to the imprisonment of Czechoslovak citizen Stanislav Devaty is not based on truth.

Poland's Staniszewski Speaks

LD0306051889 Warsaw PAP in English 2159 GMT 2 Jun 89

[Text] Paris, June 2—Addressing a conference on the human aspect of CSCE held in Paris, head of a Polish delegation and director of the Foreign Ministry Press and Information Department Stefan Staniszewski presented directions of the Polish legislation pass in the passed years with a view to strengthening human rights protection.

The address was received with big interest on the part of the participants in the conference. Staniszewski pointed out that Poland had always attached great significance to adjusting its legislation and administrative procedure to foreign commitments she made.

Hungary's Erdos Takes Floor

LD0606091389 Budapest MTI in English 0826 GMT 6 Jun 89

[Text] Paris, June 6 (MTI)—Andre Erdos, head of the Hungarian delegation, also took the floor at the plenary session of the Paris meeting, held on June 5, in the frame of the European security and cooperation process. In his speech, Mr Erdos pointed out that human rights issues should feature in the session's debate in their complexity and inherence, along with the civil, political and economic, social and cultural rights. In certain statements, only the economic and social rights were raised, such as illiteracy, the right to a home and employment. Nevertheless, the quality of life we lead includes the availability of food, heating of homes, electricity supply, and the freedom for everyone to decide the place where he wants to live and work. If it is only economic and social rights issues that are raised, we cannot be certain that each country intends to assert human rights to the full, without exceptions, the Hungarian ambassador stressed.

In his speech, Mr Erdos gave priority to Hungarian legislative activity on human rights, founding on the internal requirement for implementing changes, but also aiming to harmonize with international obligations. The goal of the legislative activity is to create an European constitutional state. In reply to a question by the British delegation, Mr Erdos spoke about the Hungarian practice of the increased freedom of travelling, mentioning the liberalisation of travel introduced between Austria and Hungary, and the substantial rise in Hungarian tourism, in recent years. The ambassador also spoke about the thousands of refugees arriving from Romania, who apparently did not find the suitable quality of life in their homeland, despite some of the statements on economic-social rights, at the Paris conference.

In conclusion Mr Erdos assured Hungary's support in legislative consular cooperation, and for the goals set forth, aiming to create a unified European legal region.

GDR's Steglich Delivers Address

AU0606152489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3-4 Jun 89 p 5

[ADN report: "GDR Delegation Head in Paris: Comprehensively Implementing Vienna Agreements"]

[Text] Paris (ADN)—The GDR expects an objective and constructive exchange of opinions on the respective agreements made in Vienna to take place at the Paris meeting on the human dimension of the CSCE. This was declared by Ambassador Peter Steglich, head of the GDR delegation, at the plenary session on Friday [2 June]. He stated that, notwithstanding different opinions on several questions, there has been agreement at the meeting that cooperation in human rights and the humanitarian sector is an essential component of joint efforts for peace and security. Advocating the individual's rights without resolutely objecting to the danger of modern war is absurd. For war would be tantamount to collective capital punishment, he said.

Ambassador Steglich turned against efforts by several Western representatives not to treat human rights in their unity and mutual connection, which contradicts the agreements of the Vienna CSCE meetings. He referred to the capitalist states' considerable deficit in implementing economic, social, and cultural human rights.

The Vienna document obliges the participating states to continue their efforts to gradually achieve the complete implementation of economic, social, and cultural rights with all appropriate means, especially legal measures. The ways to implement this task should be discussed in Paris and at the next meeting in Copenhagen or Moscow. However, the international agreements and the mechanism of the human dimension have not been created to make one's own values the only standard valid for all. It is unavoidable to respect each state's right to implement human rights within the scope of its social order and its political system, he stated.

It is true that, without political and civil rights, the free development of economic, social, and cultural rights is also impossible. However, it is equally true that unemployed, hungry, ignorant, and poor people have only very restricted opportunities to use their right to free speech or to travel. "So far, our Western partners have not given us answers to these problems and questions which affect millions of people."

In accordance with the final document of the Vienna meeting, the GDR has made important decisions to develop the socialist law-governed state. In this context, Ambassador Steglich referred to the abolition of capital punishment, the law on the legal review of administrative decisions and the new travel regulations. Millions of travellers demonstrate that there are no obstacles whatsoever to normal border crossing. As any other state, the GDR also maintains strict order at its border. An order which guarantees stability and peace at the border is all the more important as the world's most concentrated armed forces and armaments are to be found on its two sides. Whoever questions this, touches on the basic foundations of European security, he said.

FRG, French, and USSR representatives also took the floor at the plenary session on Friday.

PAP Interviews Olechowski on Paris Conference

LD0106095589 Warsaw PAP in English 0842 GMT 1 Jun 89

[Text] Paris, June 1—Poland's Minister of Foreign Affairs Tadeusz Olechowski gave an interview to PAP correspondent Robert Bielecki in connection with the Paris session of the CSCE conference on human dimension in which he said among other things:

It would be difficult to formulate an equivocal assessment of the to-date course of the conference already at the present, preliminary stage of its work. Nevertheless, already on the basis of the first addresses one may make the first generalizations.

One may say that the to-date atmosphere is good. One can feel that the countries are aiming at a matter-of-fact, open cooperation, at searching for the possibilities of further rapprochement. This does not naturally mean a lack of differences of opinions, even controversies. Yet, it is important that the participants are ready for dialogue and efforts aimed at agreement and partner-like cooperation.

The conference has all the chances to add to the development and improvement of cooperation of CSCE countries in that important field. Only goodwill of all the participants may determine whether this will really happen.

The essence of the Polish stand may be presented in short that we want to act towards the elaboration of common European patterns in the field of human dimenstion of CSCE. We want to make use of the experiences of others but we also have a lot to offer. Some of our solutions and legal regulations may serve as examples to others.

We want to be an active part of the European dialogue, adding to the creation of common criteria for the implemenation of human rights.

At the same time we will be counteracting any forms of abusing the right for criticism, attempts at prompting or imposing solutions. In short, we are for cooperation and agreement, and against confrontation.

Bulgarian Paper Views Paris CSCE Conference

AU0506155189 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 2 Jun 89 p 4

[Report by ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME correspondent Boyko Boykov, including interview by him with Yuriy Kashlev, leader of the Soviet delegation to the Paris CSCE Conference, in Paris on 1 June: "The All-European Process Is a Two-Way Street"]

[Text] Following the first 2 days of expanded plenary sessions at the Sorbonne, the Paris Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE, attended by the foreign ministers of 20 countries and inaugurated by President Francois Mitterrand, was transferred to the Avenue Kleber International Conference Center. There the conference entered a new working stage—namely, an exchange of opinions on questions of humanitarian cooperation and protection of citizens' rights and freedoms.

We should point out that in their statements the representatives of the CSCE member states (with some exceptions, such as the statement of the Turkish foreign minister), expressed their countries' common political will to proceed resolutely along the path of improving the international situation, humanizing international relations, and intensifying the aspects of the human dimension in the all-European process. Francois Mitterrand, the president of the host country, contributed to the serious and businesslike tone of the conference on its very first day.

The representatives of the socialist countries expressed their unmistakable stands on international humanitarian cooperation and on the international control mechanism for human rights and the human dimension, on the changes that are occuring in their legislations and in their dispensation of justice in accordance with the closing document of the Vienna meeting. They pointed out that the world of socialism is involved in a stage of renewal and that restructuring in all spheres of social life corresponds to the lofty international norms of human rights and to the humanitarian dimensions which characterize the basic, social, political, economic, and cultural values of the new stage in their development. Difficulties exist in this respect. Many of these difficulties are created by the forces of confrontation, by the outdated way of thinking, and are expressed even here, at the Paris conference.

Unfortunately, the representatives of certain Western countries took the floor not in order describe what they are doing in their respective countries but to lecture other countries in a patronizing tone, the socialist countries in particular. The socialist countries do not hesitate to answer even the most controversial questions dictated by the bloc attitude and "double" criteria of certain NATO member countries. The question emerges: Is this how the all-European process should look like? And further: Why has the United States failed to sign 15 of the 20 international documents on human rights and why does this country not feel obliged to observe them? Or—does the newly adopted British Immigration Law conform with the Vienna closing document?

It is, of course, difficult to overcome the remnants of an outdated way of thinking. The most important issue, the main task today is to advance and to discuss new proposals and new ideas that are likely to promote the Vienna agreements.

During the forum's first press conference, which was attended by all the members of the Soviet delegation, I asked Yuriy Kashlev, leader of the USSR delegation, to dwell in more detail on the proposal he had just submitted at the morning session dealing with the establishment of an uniform, legal sphere in Europe.

[Kashlev] From our point of view this is an important subject which we propose to discuss here in Paris. I would like to state that we are far from wishing to impose a simplified approach to the question. The uniform legal sphere will not be established at once by mechanically coordinating our countries's legislations, even if they should be adapted to the Vienna agreement.

Our second consideration is that, in our opinion, a uniform legal sphere is not in contradiction with freedom of choice, with each country's freedom to develop its own socioeconomic and cultural system, with each country's freedom to adopt its own laws, administrative rules, and practices, or with each country's freedom to determine its own policy. With our proposal we intend to work out an agreement on a common understanding of the principles and norms of international law, to compile a code on these norms and principles, to develop legal norms for the new spheres of cooperation and for the countries' observance of the adopted agreements. It is our conviction that the observance of international law should not be based on coercion, but upon certain norms reflecting the balance of interests of the states involved. The first step in this respect should be a systematic, comparative study of the legislations and administrative rules of individual countries in all aspects that apply to the human dimension. An exchange of experience on legislative, executive, and judicial power would also be exceptionally useful.

[Boykov] Is there any connection between this proposal of the USSR and the proposal submitted by France on transforming Europe into one, uniform, law-governed state?

[Kashlev] The fact that the idea of seeking forms of drawing closer together has simultaneously emerged both in East and West speaks for itself. The main thing, however, is that the necessity of common denominators is increasing, that the awareness of where and how to look for them is maturing, and that this great cause is becoming increasingly feasible.

Loncar Addresses OECD Ministerial Meeting

LD0106104989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0708 GMT 01 Jun 89

[Text] Paris, 1 Jun (TANJUG)—Controlling inflation, external economic balance, and reforming the economic system are at the centre of Yugoslavia's efforts toward creating and implementing its economic policy, said Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budmir Loncar at an OECD ministerial meeting in Paris.

Loncar drew attention to the fact that over the last 2 years, Yugoslavia had recorded a balance-of-payments surplus to the tune of about $2.5 billion, primarily as a result of its "policy to promote exports, the efficient functioning of the foreign currency market, and measures to consolidate external debt which have had satisfactory effects."

The federal secretary for foreign affairs informed the meeting that negotiations were underway with the IMF and the World Bank and expressed hope for their successful outcome. "This would help us not just to continue consistently implementing programs for rescheduling Yugoslavia's external debt, which implies regular interest repaments, but would also provide fresh scope for stepping up Yugoslavia's presence on the world capital market."

Drawing on Yugoslavia's experience, Loncar went on to say, there is no alternative to the policy of structural reforms, meaning that they were crucial for maintaining economic growth and increasing employment. Yugoslavia, he continued, has taken initial measures to liberalize prices, imports, and the foreign currency market. This already has produced results: In the first 4 months of this year, Yugoslavia recorded a 3 percent increase in production and a 2.5-percent increase in exports compared with the same period last year.

Unfortunately, Loncar said, "high inflation rates seriously threaten to undermine these results." In a campaign to halt it, the Yugoslav Government has, on the expenditure side, practically abolished all noncustoms duties, as well as customs duties on imports for export-bound manufacturing. On the demand side, we have chosen to reduce the budget. As a result, its 1988 share of 11.7 percent in the social product will be reduced this year to 8.5 percent. We are yet to introduce serious restrictive measures in the monetary policy with the aim of bringing independent monetary flows under the control of the Yugoslav National Bank," he said.

Loncar went on to welcome the fact that the final document adopted at the present OECD meeting stressed the need for improving the public sector. He said: "The creation of conditions for stimulating the private sector, as well as national treatment for foreign capital, are in the very focus of Yugoslavia's reform efforts."

Loncar also noted that Yugoslavia had created opportunities for setting up private firms and trade associations with enterprise mechanisms and profit, not unlike those in developed market economies. The foreign currency market is an area where "decisive moves have been made which are aimed at deregulation and liberalization." According to Loncar, this also produced positive results in a very short period of time: Foreign currency reserves now stand at $3 billion. "This gives us the right to pursue our orientation toward institutionalizing the labor and capital markets," he explained.

The whole spectrum of measures in the economic system, the economic policy instruments, and changes in the Constitutions carried out over the last few months, coupled with the fresh, serious, and specific steps the SFRY plans to take, all are geared toward transforming it into a country with a market economy and a pluralist political system, the federal secretary for foreign affairs said. Loncar went on to note that Yugoslavia recently had embarked on implementing the OECD's decisions, recommendations, and resolutions in the areas of science, tecnology, environmental protection, and ariculture.

The Yugoslav foreign secretary noted that current international economic trends were marked, on the supply side, by dynamic growth in the developed countries, and on the demand side, by a considerable decline in the

purchasing power of developing countries. "In addition, we are witnessing in the markets of developed countries restrictions on products from developing countries," Loncar stressed.

He called for action to step up multilateral and international economic cooperation between the developed and developing countries, warning that without such cooperation there would be no long-term, stable solutions to the problems of development and debts.

Yugoslavia attaches considerable importance to its cooperation with the OECD and to the advancement of this cooperation, Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar said in conclusion at the OECD ministerial meeting in Paris.

Prague Hosts 2-Day Environment Conference

Conference Opens 29 May

AU0106081389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 May 89 p 1

[Igor Sirota and Zdenek Vavra report: "Protecting and Improving the Environment in Europe; The Conference of Ministers From Seven Neighboring Countries Has Begun in Prague"]

[Text] Prague (From our correspondents)—A discussion between government members responsible for issues of shaping and protecting the environment from seven central European countries and representatives of three international organizations commenced in Prague on Monday [29 May]. CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec received participants in the 2-day conference on the same day in Prague.

The plenary session of delegations from Hungary, the GDR, the FRG, Poland, Austria, the USSR, the CSSR, the EC, CEMA, and the UN Economic Commission for Europe was opened by Pavel Hrivnak, head of the Czechoslovak delegation, first deputy premier of the CSSR Government and chairman of the State Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Development. He welcomed the participants and stated that it certainly is not necessary to repeat at the conference of participatory countries the words already pronounced many times about the pressing need to solve with complete earnestness the issues of shaping and protecting the environment and the necessity of wide-ranging international cooperation. It is necessary to speedily solve the problems that jointly burden us all.

Later, P. Hrivnak presented the Czechoslovak proposals on seven groups of the most serious issues recommended for discussion by the March meeting of experts. Among them, inter alia, belong the demands to work out and realize technical and technological measures to reduce pollution of the atmosphere and improve the cleanliness of cross-border waters; to facilitate the exchange of technologies to protect the environment, in harmony with intrastate laws, other regulations, and customs; and to draw up and implement proposals for the standardization of monitoring systems and the method of evaluating the acquired results. The mutual flow of information, education and work with the public, and cooperation in the prevention of accidents, including the timely mutual exchange of information at their outbreak and the eradication of the consequences, should be improved.

For example, in order to reduce pollution of the atmosphere Czechoslovakia is planning the desulfurization of such major sources as the Tusimice, Prunerov, Pocerady, Tisova, Melnik, and Chvaletice power stations and also the CSSP [Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship] Litvinov Chemical Plants, the Vresova pressurized gas works, and another 30 small- and medium-sized sources of pollution. At the same time, the CSSR is suggesting mutual reporting on national programs among the neighboring countries, a discussion of possibilities for their coordination, and the proposal and discussion of mutual cooperation in the reduction of pollution of the atmosphere.

In attending to an improvement in the quality of water in border regions it is necessary to concentrate attention on the Labe, the Luzicka Nisa, the Odra, and the Danube. For example, in order to reduce pollution of the Labe, cooperation is possible in the removal of nitrates and phosphorus in new water treatment plants and in the introduction of technological measures to reduce pollution directly in industrial and agricultural production.

The standardization of monitoring systems and of the method of evaluating the results obtained from the readings is also essential and feasible. Czechoslovakia, as P. Hrivnak said, is offering mutual cooperation in the measurement and evaluation of the quality of the atmosphere and in monitoring the transfer of harmful substances at agreed joint international stations in border regions. It is necessary to equip the stations with standardized measuring and computer technology. Similarly, international laboratories for common rivers and border forests could also evolve.

The CSSR side also proposes the setting up of a center for ecological information, education, and enlightenment attached to the Institute of Applied Ecology and Environmental Technology at the Agriculture College in Prague with its headquarters in Kostelec and Cernymi Lesy. In view of the constantly increasing amount of contamination of the environment resulting from accidents, the CSSR is proposing to governments of the participatory states that they adopt a recommendation to construct, in as coordinated a manner as possible, national emergency services and to assign delegated organs which would communicate abroad the facts about accidents. At the same time, it is recommended that international aspects be incorporated into the emergency plans of plants which can influence the state of the environment in neighboring countries. The protection of nature in the border area is also a common interest. Here integrated care of the protected territory by the neighboring states should be very essential—for example in

Sumava, the Labe sandstone area, the land along the River Dyje, the Krkonose and Tatra national parks, and the Vihorlat, Pieniny, and Slovensky Kras regions.

At the end of his speech the head of the Czechoslovak delegation recommended that experts meet again after this conference to discuss methods of specific implementation of the agreed measures.

Then, in alphabetical order, the heads of individual delegations put forward their points of view.

Laszlo Marothy, Hungarian minister for environmental protection and water conservancy, concentrated on the problem of the protection of the atmosphere in connection with increasing motorization. He expressed the view that countries manufacturing vehicles must consistently direct their attention to reducing emissions of oxides of nitrogen and must take these issues into consideration during the manufacture of vehicles. He proposed that a common database of modern technological processes which reduce the burdening of the atmosphere with harmful matter be set up.

According to the speech by the minister, Hungary is willing to become a coordinator during the drawing up of a standardized system of checking water quality.

Hans Reichelt, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and minister for environmental protection and water conservancy, talked about GDR experiences in the utilization of all natural resources and also industrial and other waste. He outlined facts about processing waste and reported on measures for the protection of waterways. He praised the proposals put forward by Czechoslovakia and expressed his support for the joint protection of nature in border regions. In conclusion he underlined the close connection between the struggle for peace and the reduction of arms expenditure and the endeavor to improve the environment.

Klaus Toepfer, FRG minister for the environment, nature conservation and reactor safety, stressed that the protection of the environment is the duty of each citizen of whatever country, irrespective of social systems. He said that the pollution of waters flowing into the North Sea causes his country great problems. He expressed the idea that cooperation in care for the environment also means technological and financial mutual support. Modern technology to improve the environment must be at the disposition of all. In conclusion, he particularly appreciated that the Czechoslovak Government, as the host, has enabled the holding of a lively discussion on environmental issues in Prague.

Jozef Koziol, head of the Polish delegation and minister for environmental protection and natural resources, said that in the Polish People's Republic laws on environmental protection are being finalized, investments in this sphere are being increased, and the activity of citizens in this respect is growing. He emphasized that today we are confronted by problems which no country can solve independently. Therefore, the PPR supports every activity in caring for the environment.

Marilies Flemming, minister of family affairs and environmental protection of the Republic of Austria, said that good neighbors are obliged to help each other and understand each other. She appreciated that there is a strong ecological awareness in the CSSR and that here considerable attention has been devoted to caring for the environment, particularly recently. She made a critical statement about the Czechoslovak nuclear program.

Stanislav Tsurikov, head of the Soviet delegation and deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Protection of Nature, underlined that right from the very beginning the Soviet Union has supported the initiative of the CSSR premier. We share the anxiety about the state of the environment in the densely populated territory of Europe, said the head of the delegation. Therefore, new political thinking is necessary in this sphere too. Close international cooperation at all levels is the only thing that can contribute to resolving contemporary problems. He proposed that the creation of ecologically safe zones in Europe be given consideration. He said that Europe in particular must become a model and example for the whole world in caring for the environment. He also stressed the significance of the flow of public information in environmental issues. He stated that from this year the USSR will regularly issue reports on the state of the environment in the country. Later, representatives of the international organizations, who are plenipotentiary participants of the conference, made speeches—Carlo Ripa De Meana, member of the EC commission responsible for the environment, nuclear safety, and the protection of the public, Istvan Szigedy, CEMA deputy secretary, and Gerald Hinteregger, executive secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Europe. They gave concrete examples of how their organizations are proceeding in resolving the questions of environmental protection and they offered possibilities for cooperation to all participatory states.

Conference Ends 30 May

AU0106140089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 May 89 p 1

[Igor Sirota and Zdenek Vavra report: "Unanimity of Views Creates Scope for Action; Conference on the Environment Has Ended in Prague"]

[Excerpts] Prague (From our correspondents)—A conference of government members in charge of environmental issues, held on the initiative of CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec, ended in Prague on Tuesday [30 May] with a final meeting of delegations from the Hungarian People's Republic, the GDR, the FRG, the People's Republic of Poland, the Republic of Austria, the USSR, the CSSR, the EC, CEMA, and the UN Economic Commission for Europe. The delegations unanimously

approved a joint document—the memorandum of the conference—which delineates the principles and areas of further bilateral and multilateral cooperation. [passage omitted]

In his concluding address, Czechoslovak delegation head Pavel Hrivnak, first deputy premier and chairman of the State Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Development, conveyed thanks to all participants for their active, responsible, and very constructive approach to the deliberations of the conference, for their frankness and genuine interest in finding practicable solutions conducive to the attainment of the set goals in environmental care. [passage omitted] The harmonization of the course of action must now be followed by action. We must seek ways of making more effective use of the activity of international organizations and existing bilateral and multilateral agreements. The CSSR, Pavel Hrivnak said, is open to all new and beneficial ideas and activities in this respect. [passage omitted]

After the conclusion of the conference, the Czechoslovak delegation conducted bilateral talks with the delegations of the GDR and the Polish People's Republic.

At a news conference held in the afternoon Pavel Hrivnak, the Czechoslovak delegation head, and its members, Academician Vlastimil Barus, deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, and Karel Ren, secretary of the conference, replied to questions from Czechoslovak and foreign journalists.

Asked whether a date was agreed at the conference for a meeting between the heads of government of countries neighboring on the CSSR, Pavel Hrivnak replied that the Czechoslovak delegation had recommended that such a meeting take place at a suitable time, in harmony with the itemization of specific procedures in individual agreed areas of cooperation. This course of action and the justification of and need for such a summit meeting were also endorsed by other delegations participating in the conference. The FRG delegation came up with a somewhat differently formulated view. It holds that what is most needed in the immediate future is the preparation of talks among experts to give concrete shape to the agreed course of action.

It further transpired from the words of the head of the Czechoslovak delegation, and its members, that the following areas of cooperation, in particular, will be developed: monitoring of the state of the environment; the exchange of technologies conducive to improving the environment; and the granting of licenses, cooperation, and also the setting up of joint ventures in environmental engineering, for example. Use will be made of bilateral as well as multilateral cooperation and contacts with international organizations will become closer.

At another news conference Stanislav Havel, chairman of the Czechoslovak Nuclear Energy Commission, familiarized journalists with the CSSR's nuclear program, which makes it possible to reduce the burning of solid fuels. It also contributes to improving the state of the atmosphere. The operation of Czechoslovakia's current eight nuclear power generation units replaces 26 million tonnes of brown coal annually, coal which would otherwise have to be used for electricity generation. This is an important step reducing atmospheric pollution in Czechoslovakia and neighboring countries, provided, of course, that maximum safety of operation is guaranteed.

Stanislav Havel and Jozef Keher, Federal Government commissioner for the construction of nuclear power stations, also replied to numerous questions and provided facts to show that some Austrian information media present distorted facts on the Czechoslovak nuclear program.

The conference on environmental issues ended in Prague on Tuesday [30 May].

Memorandum of Conference Issued

AU0106110689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 May 89 p 1

["Memorandum of the Conference of Ministers From Seven Neighboring Countries," held in Prague on 29-30 May 1989]

[Text] Memorandum of the conference attended by the government members responsible for environmental issues in the Hungarian People's Republic, the GDR, the FRG, the Polish People's Republic, the Republic of Austria, the USSR, and the CSSR, by the commissioner of the European Communities, and by the executive secretary of the UN European Economic Commission, at the invitation of the CSSR premier for the purpose of solving common environmental problems.

Proceeding from the CSCE Final Act that was adopted in Helsinki in 1975, from the final document of the CSCE follow-up meeting in Vienna in 1986 that was adopted in 1989, from the regional strategy for environmental protection and the rational use of natural resources in the member states of the UN European Economic Commission for the period through the year 2000 and thereafter, held in Geneva in 1979, from its follow-up conferences, and from the environmental conference held in Munich in 1984, and aiming to intensify cooperation in environmental protection, the participants in the conference:

1. considered at their session the issues of environmental protection and the preservation of natural resources;

2. exchanged information and experience in the sphere of environmental protection and views on the possibilities of intensifying cooperation between the sides involved;

3. found that extensive cooperation exists between the participating sides on both a bilateral and a multilateral level, and that, in the interests of a speedier improvement in the environment, it is essential to intensify this cooperation on all levels; and

4. expressed their common conviction that this cooperation must proceed from the following principles in particular:
—environmental protection and the protection of natural resources must be given high priority;
—it is essential to respect the demands of environmental protection in all spheres;
—effective environmental protection represents a considerable contribution to the economic and social advancement of all states.

5. To implement these principles, the participants agreed to further develop both the bilateral and the multilateral cooperation of the sides involved, with the following aims:
—to work out and implement technical and technological measures for reducing environmental pollution;
—to work out and implement technical and technological measures to fight pollution in trans-border waters;
—to alleviate the exchange of technologies for environmental protection in keeping with their valid laws, different regulations, and traditions, and to foster cooperation in the development of new technologies for environmental protection;
—to work out and realize proposals on unifying the monitoring systems and evaluation methods, so as to enable the comparison and exchange of the achieved results;
—to improve mutual information, education, and work with the public in the environmental sphere;
—to cooperate in the prevention of accidents, in bringing them under control, and in providing each other with timely information on their occurrence and on measures for the removal of their consequences; and
—to work out and adopt common measures to protect nature, particularly in border areas.

6. The participating sides agreed to submit information on their negotiations to their superior bodies.

7. The participating sides took note of Czechoslovakia's willingness to organize yet another meeting to deal with certain issues of cooperation on the basis of the results achieved at the present conference; other participants have expressed the same willingness.

Palestinian Foreign Minister Qaddumi Visits

Received by Malile

AU0706185489 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 7 Jun 89

[Text] At the invitation of Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Faruq Qaddumi, minister of foreign affairs of the Palestinian state, arrived today for an official and friendly visit to our country.

He was met at Rinas Airport by Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs, and other officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Holds Talks With Malile

AU0806124389 Tirana ATA in English 0945 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] Tirana, June 8 (ATA)—Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the PSR [Peoples Socialist Republic] of Albania received the foreign minister of the Palestinian state, Faruq Qaddumi, at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He wished the Palestinian friend welcome and expressed his satisfaction over the development of relations between Albania and the new Palestinian state.

On June 7 too, talks began between the foreign minister of the PSR of Albania and the foreign minister of the Palestinian state which were held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. The talks will continue on June 8.

Malile Hosts Dinner

AU0806124589 Tirana ATA in English 0950 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] Tirana, June 8 (ATA)—On June 7, the minister of foreign affairs, Reis Malile gave a dinner in honour of the minister of foreign affairs of the Palestinian state, Faruq Qadddumi, and the persons accompanying him.

Present were the chairman of the State Planning Commission, Niko Gjyzari; the secretary of the General Council of the DFA [Democratic Front of Albania], Xhorxhi Robo; the director of the International Relations Study Institute Prof Sofokli Lazri; the general secretary of the National Committee of the War Veterans of the Albanian People, Myqerem Fuga, and other comrades.

During the dinner, greetings were exchanged and toasts were raised for the further consolidation of the friendship and relations between the Albanian people and the Palestinian people.

In his greetings, the foreign minister, Reis Malile said that the Albanian people and their government have always followed with a special interest the just liberation struggle of the Palestinian people to win their own rights, to have their free and independent state. Their struggle against the imperialist-Zionist aggression has been and is followed closely our people, who have attained their national freedom through innumerable sacrifices and privations. The heroic struggle of the Palestinian people is the decisive factor which led to the historic event of the proclamation of the Palestinian state and their broader recognition by the international community.

He spoke of the ancient and traditional friendship linking the Albanian people with the Palestinian one and other fraternal Arab peoples, tempered and consolidated in their common struggle for freedom, independence, and progressed and stressed that the Albanian Government and people, as until now, in the future too, will stand resolutely on the side of the fraternal Palestinian people and will powerfully support their just cause. We are confident, the Albanian foreign minister said, that the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, their sole and legitimate representative, through the struggle they are waging and the numerous sacrifices, consolidating the unity in their ranks and the fraternal Arab peoples, will finally realise their lofty national aspiration.

On his part, the foreign minister of the Palestinian state, Faruq Qaddumi, conveyed the greetings and esteemed considerations for the people and government of Albania with regard to the principled and correct stands they have adopted and are adopting in support of the just cause of the Palestinian people. The Albanian people, he said, are known and have set and are setting a great example because they have won their freedom and independence and are constructing the country self-reliantly. He pointed out the ancient historic, cultural traditions and others linking the Palestinian people with the Albanian people and said they we feel proud of them. Our both peoples are small, he said, but they love freedom and national independence so much.

He underlined the determination of the Palestinian people to continue the intifadah [uprising] until an end is put to Israeli occupation. He expressed the desire and readiness of the Palestinian people and their leadership to further consolidate the fraternal relations with Albania and the Albanian people.

The dinner passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Alia Receives Qaddumi

AU0806194689 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the Albanian Workers Party Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, received Faruq Qaddumi, minister of foreign affairs of the Palestinian state, in the Palace of Brigades today.

Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs, and Professor Sofokli Lazri, director of the Institute for the Study of International Relations, were also present at the reception.

Comrade Ramiz Alia, welcoming the Palestinian minister, said that we are delighted to meet you, the representative of the fraternal Palestinian people. We have particular respect for all the Arab peoples, and especially for the Palestinian people, who, through the struggle for freedom and independence they are waging against imperialism and Zionism, are demonstrating their heroism to the world. This glorious struggle has drawn all honorable people in the world to their side. The Albanian people have always been alongside the Palestinian people. Comrade Enver Hoxha highly praised the heroism and great struggle of the Palestinian people in his works.

We are very happy to be received by you and to talk to you, Faruq Qaddumi, the Palestinian foreign minister, said among other things. For us, our arrival in Albania among the fraternal Albanian people is an honor. Both history and life today testify to the close ties between our two peoples, as does Albania's principled standpoint under the leadership of Enver Hoxha, and now under yours, in support of the just cause of the Palestinian people. [words indistinct] He also conveyed to Comrade Ramiz Alia, and through him to the Albanian people, the fraternal greetings of President 'Arafat.

Comrade Ramiz Alia assured his Palestinian guest that the Albanian people will always stand alongside the Palestinian people and their just cause. Underlining the significance of the declaration of the Palestinian state, he said that Albania welcomed this historic act for the Palestinian people, had recognized it [word indistinct] and would support every step to help give it the place it deserves in the international community. He praised highly the large-scale uprising, the intifadah [uprising], in the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel, and expressed the conviction that the struggle and efforts of the brave Palestinian people to realize their national aspirations will be crowned with success. He spoke about the principled foreign policy of our state, and dwelt on various aspects of the current international situation. In conclusion, Comrade Ramiz Alia asked that his cordial greetings should be conveyed to Yasir 'Arafat, the Palestinian president, with very best wishes for the victory of the Palestinian people.

Quaddumi Visits Hoxha's Grave

AU0806194789 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] Faruq Qaddumi, minister of foreign affairs of Palestine, paid his respects at the graves of the martyrs of the nation and the grave of Comrade Enver Hoxha this morning. He laid wreaths in front of the Mother Albania Monument and on the grave of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the leader of the Albanian people.

Faruq Qaddumi was accompanied at this ceremony by Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Eduard Shehu, commander of the Tirana Garrison.

Visits Tirana Museums

AU0806195489 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] Faruq Qaddumi, minister of foreign affairs of Palestine, visited the Enver Hoxha Museum in the capital today, where he acquainted himself with the revolutionary work of Enver Hoxha, the distinguished leader of the Albanian people, which is reflected in the very rich collection of documents and historical items and the wide range of information and contemporary technology with which the museum is equipped.

He left the following comment in the museum's visitors book: The Palestinian delegation respect the great achievements of the Albanian leader Enver Hoxha, which are a proof of his wisdom, skill, and sincerity, and a testimony to the great resistance of a small people who fought with rare heroism for the liberation of their country, and now struggles to build a more flourishing future. The peoples of the world will follow this road in realizing their national hopes.

While visiting the National History Museum, our Palestinian guests expressed their appreciation of the ancient and modern history of the Albanian people, their efforts to achieve freedom and national independence, the antifascist national liberation war for the liberation of the homeland, the victory of the people's revolution, and the work being done for the socialist construction of the country.

We are happy, the Palestinian foreign minister said, to see this [words indistinct] of the fraternal Albanian people, with their cultural development, their militancy in the past against the forces of invasion, and the victories they have achieved on their long and glorious road. We wish the Albanian people new heroic successes, a happy future, well-being, and prosperity.

Faruq Qaddumi, the Palestinian foreign minister, was accompanied on these visits by Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Austria's Klestil Visits, Discusses Cooperation

AU2305091489 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 23 May 89 p 2

[Maren Koester-Hetzendorf dispatch from Tirana: "More Cooperation Between Vienna and Tirana; Foreign Ministry Secretary General Klestil Visits Albania"]

[Text] Tirana—Austria has understanding and sympathetic feelings for Albania's efforts for intensified scientific and technological cooperation with Western market economies. This was stressed by Thomas Klestil, secretary general of the Vienna Foreign Ministry, in Tirana on Monday [22 May]. At a banquet given by Albanian Foreign Minister Reis Malile, Klestil suggested that a

further rapprochement toward multinational economic organizations might "decisively promote" this wish of the Balkan countries. Tirana enjoys Vienna's support, Klestil said.

Previously, the secretary general, who is in Albania for 2-day official talks, met with Deputy Foreign Minister Sokrat Plaka, with whom he discussed economic questions. According to its Constitution, Albania may not raise loans. However, possibilities have been found to secure investments and profitability by means of contracts. Concerning the easing of visa regulations, which is particularly desired by business circles and journalists, Plaka only wanted to make concessions to diplomats.

Malile's visit to Vienna was fixed for the beginning of 1990. A general invitation to Vienna's foreign minister to visit Tirana was also issued.

Klestil, who with this trip—the delegation is the highest-ranking Vienna delegation ever sent to Albania—wants to emphasize the efforts "to put Austrian diplomacy even more in the service of the economy," presented several initiatives of Austrian enterprises.

They range from the offer of a private Austrian company to establish a second flight connection between Vienna and Tirana in addition to Alpen Air, to the construction of an exclusive tourist facility, to aid in modernizing chromium and nickel processing.

Malile Talks With Canadian Senator Golbert

AU0806123989 Tirana ATA in English
0935 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] Tirana, June 8 (ATA)—The foreign minister of the PSR [Peoples Socialist Republic] of Albania, Reis Malile, received the Canadian senator, Ernest Leo Golbert [spelling as received], who is paying a friendly visit to our country upon the invitation of the Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations With Foreign Countries.

At this meeting, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere, they talked on the relations between Albania and Canada as well as on their development in the future. Likewise, they spoke on the situation in the Balkans and on some aspects of the present international situation.

Present was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Canada to the PSR of Albania, Terence C. Bacon.

Malile Receives Italian Regional Economic Group

AU0106191789 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1800 GMT 1 Jun 89

[Text] Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, this morning received the Italian delegation from the Puglia Region, led by Giuseppe (Corisanto), president of the region, and had a friendly talk with its members. Opinions were exchanged on the further development of relations between Albania and Italy and, in this context, both sides stressed the need for the extension and concretization of economic exchanges and trade with the Puglia Region.

Giorgio de Andrei, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Italian Republic in our country, was also present.

The delegation left Albania today. It was seen off at the airport by Konstandin Hoxha, deputy minister of foreign trade.

Malile Attends FRG Embassy Reception 26 May

AU2705124589 Tirana ATA in English
0942 GMT 27 May 89

[Text] Tirana, May 27 (ATA)—On occasion of the Day of the Constitution, the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Federal Republic of Germany to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Friedrich Kroneck, gave a reception on May 26, evening.

Attending the reception were the minister of foreign affairs, Reis Malile, the minister under the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, Farudin Hoxha, the chairman of the Committee of Culture and Arts, Alfred Uci, deputies of the People's Assembly, representatives of science, culture, art, press, and other invitees.

Present were also heads and functionaries of the diplomatic representations accredited to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Foreign Ministry Delegation Leaves for Norway

AU0706185389 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1800 GMT 7 Jun 89

[Text] At the invitation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Norway, a delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, headed by Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs, left for an official and friendly visit to Oslo.

Received by Stoltenberg

AU0806201289 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1800 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] The delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Albania, headed by Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, was received by Thorvald Stoltenberg, minister of foreign affairs of Norway. The relations between Albania and Norway were discussed at the meeting, as well as the further development of cooperation between the two countries in the fields of the economy, trade, culture, technology, and science. Views were also exchanged on some aspects of the current situation in Europe and the world.

The delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Albania, headed by Deputy Minister Sokrat Plaka, was received today by Alger Hasselholm [name as heard], secretary of state for foreign affairs. On this occasion, a joint desire was expressed to further develop exchanges in technology and economy, and especially for increasing the level of trade between the two countries.

Petrit Bushati, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to Norway, was present at these meetings.

Trade Protocol Signed With Bulgaria 3 June

AU0306190289 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 3 Jun 89

[Text] Talks were held in Sofia today between the government delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania headed by Niko Gjyzari, chairman of the State Planning Commission, and the government delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria headed by Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations.

During the talks, the steps taken to increase trade and economic and industrial cooperation between our two countries were evaluated, and concrete improvements in these fields were discussed. An agreement was also reached to sign the protocol for the exchange of goods between our countries for 1989. Also on the agenda of the talks was the further concretization of economic and industrial cooperation between Albania and Bulgaria, and its prospects for the future.

Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of planning and economy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, received the government delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania headed by Niko Gjyzari, chairman of the State Planning Commission. On this occasion, views were exchanged on opportunities to expand trade relations and economic, industrial, and technical cooperation between our two countries.

The protocol on the exchange of goods for 1989 between the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria was also signed in Sofia today. For the Albanian side, the protocol was signed by Niko Gjyzari, chairman of the State Planning Commission, and for the Bulgarian side by Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations. Ivan Ganev, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, was present at the signing ceremony.

Bashkim Rama, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to Bulgaria, was also present at these meetings and at the signing ceremony.

Planning Chief Gjyzari Returns

AU0806124189 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] Tirana, June 8 (ATA)—The government delegation of the PSR [Peoples Socialist Republic] of Albania, headed by Niko Gjyzari, chairman of the State Planning Commission, returned home from Sofia. It held talks with the Bulgarian side on the economic-trade exchanges and signed the supplement to the protocol on the exchange of goods for 1989 between the two countries.

Delegation Attends Balkan Anti-Terrorism Talks

AU0706185289 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 7 Jun 89

[Text] On the basis of the recommendations of the meeting of foreign ministers of the Balkan states, a meeting of the states of this region began in Belgrade today in order to discuss cooperation among the Balkan countries in the struggle against terrorism and trafficking in drugs and weapons. A delegation from our country is taking part in this meeting, which concludes its proceedings on 10 June.

Participation in Balkan Industrial Talks Planned

Meeting Held 7-8 June

AU0306154089 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 3 Jun 89

[Text] Tirana, June 3 (ATA)—The Balkan countries ministerial meeting on industrial cooperation and transfer of technology will be held in the SR [Socialist Republic] of Romania on June 7-8, 1989. The two day meeting, to be held at the recommendation of the meeting of the Balkan foreign ministers as defined in the foreign vice ministers meeting in Tirana, will examine the fields, ways and possibilities for industrial cooperation and the transfer of technology between the states of the region.

Our country will participate in this meeting, too.

Farudin Hoxha Attends Meeting

AU0506185589 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 5 Jun 89

[Text] Farudin Hoxha, minister under the Council of Ministers, who will take part in the meeting of ministers of Balkan countries on industrial cooperation and technology transfer, which will take place in Bucharest on 7-8 June, left for the capital of the Socialist Republic of Romania today.

Hoxha Speaks at Balkan Talks

AU0806131089 Tirana ATA in English
0745 GMT 8 Jun 89

["The PSR of Albania Is Interested in the Further Development of Industrial Cooperation and Transfer of Technology Among the Balkan Countries—From the Speech of the Minister Under the Presidency of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania, Farudin Hoxha, at the Ministerial Meeting of the Balkan States on Industrial Cooperation and Transfer of Technology"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, June 8 (ATA)—The ministerial meeting of the Balkan states on industrial cooperation and transfer of technology opened in Bucharest on June 7. It was declared open by Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation of the SR [Socialist Republic] of Romania. Then, on behalf of the government of Romania, those present were greeted by the deputy prime minister, Stefan Andrei.

Farudin Hoxha, minister under the Presidency of the Council of Ministers of the PSR [Peoples Socialist Republic] of Albania, took the floor at the first sitting. He said among the other things:

The Peoples Socialist Republic of Albania devotes special importance to the general development of relations among the Balkan countries and in this context even to the relations in the field of industrial cooperation and transfer of technology. It is of the opinion that the cooperation among our countries in this direction will contribute to economic development and progress of each country, the rapprochement among them, the strengthening of confidence and good neighbourliness in the region.

In compliance with the policy of good neighbourliness and its economic development, our country has made and makes efforts to intensify economic, industrial, and technical cooperation in our region. This is materialized in the agreements and protocols on economic, industrial, and technical-scientific collaboration Albania has reached with all the Balkan states.

The Peoples Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Farudin Hoxha said further on, has a complex and multibranched industry, with a growing industrial production in quantity, quality, and diversity, that guarantees the extended reproduction in all the sectors. Social production and national income have augmented at several times higher rates than population growth.

Speaking of the fields and interests concerning the industrial cooperation and transfer of technology in our region, which are numerous and long term, he reiterated that the exploitation of mining assets is a broad field of cooperation, through which the technology of their extraction, upgrading, and processing will be modernized.

He pointed to the importance of the cooperation with regard to growth of oil and gas extraction from the resources under exploitation, the rational use of all possible sources for the production of electric power, the engineering, electrotechnic, and electronic industries,the study, design, and production of spare parts and complete machineries and equipments for various branches and sectors of economy, cooperation in agriculture, food industry, exploitation of technological scraps, the construction of new objects, etc.

In order to materialize the cooperation in the above fields and forms, he said, it is necessary to find the effective ways and means in compliance with the interests and legislation of each side concerned. We uphold that these ways may be the bilateral agreements on economic, industrial, and technical cooperation, the bilateral agreements on technical-scientific cooperation, the bilateral and multilateral agreements on such important problems as the complex and rational exploitation of water assets, the future of the energy systems of the Balkan countries, the modernization of railways, seismic studies and protection measures towards the earthquakes and many other problems of interest for all the countries of our region.

In conclusion, Farudin Hoxha voiced the conviction of the Albanian delegation that this meeting will serve the strengthening and enhancing of the spirit of cooperation, understanding, and confidence among our countries.

Carcani, Leaders Speak at Meeting on Productivity

AU0406125589 Tirana ATA in English
0730 GMT 4 Jun 89

[Text] Tirana, June 4 (ATA)—The party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers organized a meeting to generalize the initiative launched by the working people of Tirana District in the context of implementing the decisions of the 9th Congress of the party, to further enhance the effectiveness of production.

Comrade Llambi Gegprifti, chairman of the Executive Committee of Tirana District People's Council spoke on the main directions of work that guarantee the realization of the targets of this movement, as the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the tasks of production, construction, transport, and public services by every economic enterprise and agricultural cooperative and in all the economic-financial indices.

Comrade Hekuran Isai, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the party Central Committee spoke at the meeting too. After estimating the initiative of the working people of Tirana District, he dwelt on the indispensability of generalizing it on national scale and on some problems that have to do with the implementation of the decisions of the 7th plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the party on agriculture, which are directly linked with the growth of production and further increase of its economic effectiveness.

Declaring the proceedings of this meeting closed, Comrade Adil Carcani, member of the Political Bureau and chairman of the Council of Ministers said among the other things that the movement launched in the context of implementing the party's orientations and Comrade Ramiz Alia's instructions, has an economic character and political and social one as well. The fulfilment and overfulfilment of the tasks of production, income, labour productivity, etc. leads to the uplift of the well-being of the people, the non-stop strengthening of the defence and independence of the country, Albania's march on the brilliant road of socialism.

Carcani at Gjirokaster Democratic Front Meeting

AU2605115689 Tirana ATA in English
0900 GMT 26 May 89

[Text] Tirana, May 26 (ATA)—On May 24, the member of the Political Bureau and chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Carcani, went to the city of Gjirokaster to attend the 17th conference of this district's Democratic Front.

Near the monument of Comrade Enver Hoxha he placed a bouquet of flowers and honored the memory of the glorious and unforgettable leader of our party and people.

On May 25, Comrade Adil Carcani attended the 17th conference of the district's Democratic Front.

The report and the contributions of those present pointed out among others the achievements of the Democratic Front organization of this district in such main aspects of their activity such as the consolidation of the unity of the people, the education of the people with the socialist stand toward the work and property, their mobilization to realize and overfulfill the planned tasks, the raising of the socialist patriotism, etc.

Comrade Adil Carcani spoke in the conference as well. He congratulated the people of the district of Gjirokaster and their Democratic Front organization over the good work they are making to put into life the historic decisions of the 9th Congress of the Party and the plenums held after it and the instructions of Comrade Ramiz Alia. In this context, he mentioned the achievements and the role of the Democratic Front organizations for the education and mobilization of the working masses for the cultivation of the best traditions of our people.

Speaking of the main directions of the work of the Democratic Front organizations of the district of Gjirokaster in the field of economy, Comrade Adil Carcani dwelt on some aspects of the realization of the tasks in the sector of agriculture and especially on the successful crowning of the cereals harvesting-threshing campaign as a great economic and political undertaking. Further on he pointed out some achievements in the field of the people's supply and the increase of their well-being. Then, he spoke of the initiative of the builders of the new plant of ferro-chrome in Elbasan to advance the completion of the object ahead of time. This initiative has become a great revolutionary movement throughout the country which is now being extended in all the sectors such as in agriculture, industry, transport, etc.

Speaking of the fundamental political duty of the DFA [Democratic Front of Albania], that is the maintenance and incessant strengthening of the unity of the people around the party, Comrade Adil Carcani said that the unity of our people, established in the fiery years of the National Liberation War, was raised to a higher level and placed on new basis over the glorious epoch of the party. All the internal and external enemies of the country broke their neck and failed in face of this unity, and at the same time it constitutes the golden key to open a wide road to our incessant development of the road of socialism, on the road of Enver. What is more evident in your district, he said, is that the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have known how to correctly solve the national problem, fraternally uniting the Albanians with the Greek minority, since the stormy years of the National Liberation War and today in the socialist construction of the country. The Greek minority in Albania is a living testimony, which shows that our Party of Labor with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, consistently translated into life the Marxist-Leninist teachings for the national cause.

Further on he spoke of the constant educational work the Democratic Front organizations should carry out for the further emancipation of our new man, especially of the woman and the youth.

In conclusion, Comrade Adil Carcani expressed his conviction that the working masses of Gjirokaster District, with the Communists at the head, will make all efforts to successfully fulfill all the planned tasks of 1989 and will see to the 6th Congress of the DFA and to the jubilee of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland chin up and chest out.

Carcani Visits Gjirokaster District

AU2805131689 Tirana ATA in English
0735 GMT 28 May 89

[Text] Tirana, May 28 (ATA)—The member of the Political Bureau and chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Carcani, who went to Gjirokaster to take part in the 17th Conference of the Democratic Front of this district, paid visits to industrial centers, agricultural economies, sociocultural institutions, etc.

In the Lazarat village he took part in the inauguration of the new aqueduct and had a warm meeting with the cooperativists. Then he went to the leather-shoe factory, where he met and talked with the workers, who acquainted him with the achievements and efforts they

make to increase production and its effectiveness, in implementation of the decisions of the Ninth Congress of the PLA [Albanian Workers Party] and Comrade Ramiz Alia's instructions.

Comrade Adil Carcani went also to the agricultural cooperative of Vrisare, where he met and talked with cooperativists, specialists, and cadres. He was informed of the work and achievements in the villages of this economy and the other nearby agricultural economies. Comrade Adil Carcani warmly talked with the minority people, on their life and daily work, on the youth's education and entertainment, and on the prospects of the economic and social development of this region. He was especially interested in some problems of land reclamation and irrigation, as well as on some aspects of the industrial development, concerning the processing of the raw materials the agricultural cooperatives ensure self-reliantly. He was also interested in some problems of the further development of the sociocultural, educational, and health sectors, etc.

Comrade Adil Carcani pointed out that the great achievements attained in Dropull and in all the other villages of the minority in the economic and social fields are a result of the correct and principled national policy the party has followed and is following according to the teachings of the glorious and unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha. The fraternity between the Albanian people and that of the minority, as well as the unity around the party with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, he underlined, make up the foundation of all the attained successes. He spoke also of the prospects opened up to this region in the future.

In course of the visits in this district, Comrade Adil Carcani went to the Erind sector of the Misto Mame agricultural enterprise of Lunxheri, where he met with vanguard workers, specialists and cadres. He was informed by the runners of these economies of the development of the workings in agriculture, animal husbandry, of the supply of the workers and their families, etc. Dwelling upon the measures set by the seventh plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA for the further intensification of agriculture, he pointed out the importance, both of the further development of the productive forces and the incessant improvement of the socialist relations in production.

On May 27 before noon, Comrade Adil Carcani went to the Fushe e Bardhe village, where he was received with love and met with the cooperativists of this village and the other villages of the Kardhiq zone. A warm meeting was organised in the main square of the village, where he was acquainted with the work and efforts by the cooperativists to increase production and to make their life ever more prosperous. He expressed his joy over this meeting and the results attained especially this jubilee year of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and conveyed to the cooperativists the greetings of the party central committee and Comrade Ramiz Alia personally.

Likewise, Comrade Adil Carcani took part in the inauguration of the new palace of sports in the city of Gjirokaster, as well as visiting the art gallery in this city.

Districts Exercise New Planning Responsibilities

AU0706183189 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 1 Jun 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Responsibly Drafting the 1990 Plan"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The 1990 draft plan involves applying throughout the country the planning methods involving more extensive authorities for the districts and the base in agriculture which were successfully used for an experimental period in the districts of Elbasan, Permet, and Lushnje. On the basis of the experience that has been gained and the research projects that have been carried out, the Council of Ministers has decided that this method of planning should also be extended to enterprises in the food-processing industry. Responsibility for the fixing of 43 percent of plan targets in agriculture passes from central to district authorities. We are thus dealing with significant changes.

These changes must not be conceived simply as a transfer of authority from one body to another, but as a matter of important principle. Granting wider competences to the base exerts a beneficial influence on creating more just relations between centralism and democracy. "Centralism," Comrade Ramiz Alia stresses, "is vital for all those matters that involve basic allocations and cardinal priorities in the development of the economy and culture, but it becomes bureaucracy if it stifles people's thinking, restricts discussion, and puts the masses into the position of being mere mechanical implementors, and if, for the sake of centralism, there is interference in narrow technical aspects of the production process." Extended planning competences does not imply a simplification or reduction of the work of planning bodies. On the contrary, it calls for quite difficult and responsible work. The aim is to include in the draft plan the most valuable and sound forms of thinking, which are at the same time the hardest to act upon, but which must be reflected at enterprise, district, and ministry level.

In compiling the draft plan, particular attention will be paid to coordinating economic and financial indices. Distortions have been noticed in recent years in many enterprises, cooperatives, and branches of the economy, which have resulted in higher costs, excessive expenditure, failure to fulfill planned net earnings at enterprise and central state level, increases in the amount of money in circulation, and even in greater losses, particularly in the agricultural enterprises, and so forth. Such phenomena have been noticed during the current period as well, although on a smaller scale. Economic thinking and logic must identify and lay down effective ways and means to increase the profitability of enterprises, institutions, cooperatives, and the economy as a whole. In this context, particular importance must be assigned to planning lower costs and factors

which will achieve this, improvements in the quotas of raw material use, a closer correspondence between achievements in production and remuneration, and tightening the savings regimen both in the productive and the nonproductive spheres. In this, passing on advanced experience represents an important resource, vital for drafting our plans. [passage omitted]

Carefully prepared discussions will yield fruit and exert a powerful influence on the drafting of a realistic, scientific, encouraging, and well-coordinated plan. However, there are also signs of formalism, unpunctuality, and reluctance at the opening stages, followed by haste and poor quality work in the later stages. There have also been noticeable failures to draw up draft plans and submit them for approval on time, which means that delays result in fixing plan indices. Party basic organizations must therefore combat these signs, starting now, so that the work of drawing up the 1990 draft plan can be carried out on time and to the proper standard, according to the schedule that has been approved.

Sixty-Fifth Volume of Hoxha's Works Published

AU3005184689 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 30 May 89

[Text] The 65th volume of Comrade Enver Hoxha's works has come off the press and is now on sale. The volume includes the major work entitled Imperialism and the Revolution, which occupies a special place in Comrade Enver Hoxha's ideo-theoretical legacy. It is a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the features of capitalism and imperialism under the new conditions of the international situation. It synthesizes the historic experience of the Albanian Workers Party and draws vital lessons serving to promote the great cause of the revolution, socialism, and communism. The volume includes an index.

RUDE PRAVO Reports China Situation 7 Jun

AU0806133389

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 7 June on page 7 carries a 1,100-word Vladimir Divis Beijing dispatch, entitled "The Situation Continues To Be Complicated," on latest developments in the PRC. Divis first quotes PRC Government spokesman Yuan Mu's data on the number of victims of the recent clashes (almost 300 deaths among soldiers and residents of Beijing, 5,000 injured soldiers a policemen, and 2,000 injured civilians) and his statements on the continuation of unrest in the PRC capital. Divis then reports on the "shocking authentic shots" of the events which took place in Beijing on 2 June (that is, before the army "received the order to proceed more energetically") that were broadcast on PRC television on 6 June and which showed groups of people "lynching soldiers, stripping them off their uniforms, dragging them on the ground, and stabbing and stoning to death soldiers who were putting up only weak resistance." Divis notes that he was astonished by the "unbelievable restraint of the young men in military uniforms who, in defiance of the threat to their own lives, did not use arms against the assailants." Divis goes on to quote PRC sources as having denied reports that Deng Xiaoping was dead and rumors of fighting between units of the 38th and 27th armies.

Further on, Divis reports on the impact of the events on everyday life, pointing out that no newspapers have been published in Beijing for the past 3 days, that burnt-out vehicles continue to block roads in the capital, that food prices are skyrocketing, and that there is panic buying. He also notes that Western embassies have started to evacuate their staff.

In conclusion, Divis reports on his interviews with several Czechoslovaks who are studying in Beijing and who "have transferred" from their dormitories to the CSSR Embassy. Divis' interview partners report that, except for an "amazing amount of rumors" that are making the rounds, the situation in dormitories where foreign students live is generally calm. One of the students also says that she has not seen any barricades being put up near the campus, as some Western reporters claimed.

On the same page, RUDE PRAVO also carries a 200-word "zr"-signed report, based on unspecified "foreign agency reports," on unrest in other large Chinese cities; a 200-word report on a statement on the PRC events adopted at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow; and a 100-word unattributed Tokyo dispatch noting that, according to Japanese media, the present events "will slow down the implementation of the long-term modernization program in the PRC and will lead to a limitation of its contacts with the surrounding world."

Foreign Ministry Ratifies PRC Consular Accord

AU0806143189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Jun 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] Evzen Vacek, CSSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Wang Xingda, PRC ambassador to the CSSR, exchanged in Prague on Monday [5 June] the ratification papers on the CSSR-PRC Consular Accord, signed in Beijing on 5 September 1988. The Consular Accord, which replaces the Consular Treaty of 1960, establishes the necessary legal prerequisites for carrying out consular activities in the period of developing Czechoslovak-Chinese relations, and for protecting the rights and interests of the contractual states and their citizens and organizations.

Government To Insist on Gabcikovo Dam Completion

LD0806174189 Prague CTK in English 1649 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] Prague June 8 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Government discussed a report on the results of the friendly working visit of Hungarian Premier Miklos Nemeth to Czechoslovakia on May 24 at its plenary session here today.

As regards the unilateral suspension of work on the Nagymaros section of the joint water system, the Czechoslovak Government confirmed its stand of May 15, 1989 and decided to set up a group of Czechoslovak experts who will consider all problems, costs and losses connected with this act.

The government ordered to continue the construction of the Gabcikovo water system and to insist on the completion of the whole system in negotiations with the Hungarian side.

The restructuring of organizational structures of the production- technological, scientific-research and circulation basis of the national economy into state enterprises took place in two stages. In the first stage, realized by July 1, 1988, the establishment of 412 state enterprises was approved, and in the second stage, realized this year the establishment of 1,134 enterprises was approved by January 1, 1989.

By July 1, 1989, the Czechoslovak Government approved another 700 state enterprises. Altogether, some 2,300 state enterprises have been established. Thus the basic stage of the transition of the production and circulation basis towards state enterprises has been concluded. The only exception is the pharmaceutical industry, Unichem and the firm whose final organization will be dealt with by the Czechoslovak Government within a fortnight.

Only in few cases, a former plant was chosen as a basis of a state enterprise and in several cases a whole production economic unity became a state enterprise.

By the end of this year, the evaluation of the course of restructuring of organizational structures and a draft of further actions will be submitted to the government.

The comprehensive experiment of increasing the independence and responsibility of economic organizations for effective development was initiated in selected organizations in 1987.

Organizations launched the experiment stage by stage and their number increased from 22 in 1987 to 101 at the end of 1988. Their share in results of the centrally directed industry was gradually increasing so that at the end of 1988 they ensured more than 20 per cent of production, one quarter of the profit, one quarter of export to non-socialist countries and nearly 40 per cent of export to the socialist countries. These enterprises now employ 28 per cent of the total number of workers of the centrally directed industry.

Similar numbers have been achieved also in experimenting building organizations. The agricultural-food complex and internal trade have already passed to the new conditions of economy.

On the basis of economic results for 1987 and 1988, it can be stated that experimenting organizations mostly achieve better results compared with the non-experimenting ones.

The Czechoslovak Government discussed and approved the rules of the economic mechanism for state enterprises of local production and services with a small number of workers. The rules implify the planning, financing and information system of these enterprises so that they may be effective and without useless administrative demands. The size of a small enterprise is limited to 100 employees. On the basis of agreement of respective bodies the number can be increased to 200 persons.

Hungary Withdraws Builders From Gabcikovo

AU0906111489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Jun 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Session of the Government of the Slovak SR"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—At its session on Wednesday [7 June], the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic [SR] assessed the draft of the report on the implementation of the tasks of scientific-technical development and the development of metallurgy, engineering, and electrical engineering in Slovakia and other background materials for the June session of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee, which will be devoted to these issues. [passage omitted]

The Government of the Slovak SR also discussed a report on work progress on the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros system of hydropower projects on the Danube. It voiced concern over the fact that the Hungarian partner has withdrawn its building capacities from some sections which it is building on Czechoslovak territory.

Zavadil Inspects Gabcikovo Site, Meets S. Nagy

AU0706115089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Jun 89 p 2

[CTK report: "At the Construction Site of the Danube Hydroproject System"]

[Excerpts] Gabcikovo—Miroslav Zavadil, Central Committee Presidium member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council [URO], met the economic, party, and trade union officials of organizations involved in the construction of the Czechoslovak part of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros Danube hydroproject system in Gabcikovo on Saturday [3 June]. Koloman Dudas, member of the Central Committee Presidium of the Slovak Communist Party [CPSL] and leading secretary of the CPSL's Dunajska Streda District Committee, and Dusan Tallo, chairman of the West Slovak Regional Trade Union Council, were also present on the occasion. [passage omitted]

The Czechoslovak side has reacted flexibly to the request made by the Hungarian partners in February 1989, namely to cut down construction time by 15 months. This particularly affects the protection measures for the Nagymaros project which are situated on Czechoslovak territory. Our organizations are fulfilling these new commitments, although they have made a demanding regrouping of facilities necessary and increased the financial expenditures.

—On the same day Comrade Miroslav Zavadil met Sandor Nagy, secretary general of the National Council of Hungarian Trade Unions [MSZOT], in Komarno. They briefed each other on the current economic and social development in their two countries and on the topical tasks of their trade union organizations. They expressed appreciation for the present cooperation between the MSZOT and URO and appraised the possibilities and forms of its further development.

Cancellation of Visit by UK's Howe Reported

AU0806133289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Jun 89 p 7

["zr"-signed report in the "24 Hours Abroad" column]

[Text] British Foreign Secretary G. Howe has cancelled a planned 2-day visit to the CSSR, scheduled to take place in July. He cited as the reason for this cancellation the recent expulsion of three British diplomats and one businessman from Czechoslovakia. The British side

described this step as "unwarranted retaliation" for the expulsion from Great Britain of four employees of the Czechoslovak representative office.

Polish First Round Election Results Viewed
LD0806214389 Prague International Service in English 1900 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Commenting on the results of the first round of parliamentary elections in Poland a Radio Prague news analyst says that theoretically the Polish Communist Party has still a weak chance to reverse the result in the second round of the elections. This, however, is most unlikely to happen as the opposition has a much more favorable position in the voting. It came without a program but face a strong criticism of the problems the country has been long facing. This significant factor is also confirmed by the fact that Solidarity does not wish to have its representatives in the new government because there is not an easy way out of the main problems which have cropped up over the years. Moreover, Solidarity would have to bear coresponsibility for the uneasy economic and social situation in the country. The Polish Communist Party, which still holds key position in Poland, stresses that a majority of the population desires calm and order. Therefore stability and national security will be protected. The Polish Communist Party wants to observe the agreement reached at the Roundtable discussion with the opposition. Now it is also up to the other forces of Polish society to maintain a constructive approach to the country's problems.

Commentary Assesses Outcome of Polish Elections
AU0906123489 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 8 Jun 89 p 5

[Ivo Bartik commentary: "The Time for a Grand Coalition Has Come; On the Results of the First Round of Elections in Poland"]

[Text] The results of Sunday's [4 June] elections to the Polish Sejm and Senate have, as a matter of fact, surprised hardly anyone. Two factors, in particular, were characteristic. First, the low voter turnout (roughly 60 percent), which is easy to explain by the general skepticism regarding the possibilities of the country's early extrication from its economic difficulties and by the fact that the distribution of seats in the Sejm had been determined beforehand. And, second, the pronounced success of the opposition candidates. This, too, was to be expected, more or less, because Poland is still in a stage when "changes already benefit society as a whole, but not as yet every individual." The rank-and-file voter, disappointed by the fact that, so far, economic reforms in the country have been short on success, therefore frequently gave his vote to the opposition, which can, for the time being, represent hope in his eyes.

However, for the opposition leaders these elections mean an end to clamorous negativism. Now they will themselves have to take part in decisions and also share responsibility for these decisions. This is one of the reasons why, so far, we have witnessed only minimal exultation by the opposition. Initial reports suggest that its leadership realizes the seriousness of the moment and the need to prevent the possibility of the situation in the country drifting into anarchy. As a matter of fact, according to their ideas these elections were only some kind of a "general rehearsal" for the next elections, which they intend to clearly win.

For the time being, however, the conclusions of the "roundtable" retain their validity, according to which the coalition, which is led by the Polish United Workers Party, will have 65 percent of the votes in the Sejm. It is already clear, however, that the opposition will dominate the Senate and will thus be able to veto laws passed by the Sejm. If this happens, the Sejm will be able to push through the laws only if two-thirds of its deputies vote for them, which means putting together all votes of the coalition plus at least 10 votes from the ranks of the opposition....

Moreover, virtually everyone on the coalition's 35-member national list of candidates flopped in the first round and, if these seats remain unoccupied, the number of votes of the coalition in the National Assembly (Sejm and Senate), which elects the president, will decline and the possibility will arise of the opposition gaining decisive influence here.

In view of the fact that a sizable number of candidates of the coalition did not win the necessary absolute majority of votes in the first round, in most constituencies there will be another round of voting on 18 June. However, the second round of the elections is not likely to be all too important for the further development of the internal political situation in Poland—the most it can do is complicate somewhat the situation for the coalition forces. The questions of principle, so it seems, have been decided. Obviously, the time has come for the grand coalition of all realistically minded political forces in the country, about which, incidentally, W. Jaruzelski spoke before the elections. The purpose of this coalition, which the opposition bills as "another step on the regulated road toward democracy," should be the achievement of a wholly pragmatic agreement on all matters concerning the continuation of economic and political reforms in the country. A spokesman for Solidarity chairman L. Walesa has declared that "we know that the reforms can be successful only if all sides of the 'roundtable' participate in them." It is therefore to be hoped that the common language, already once found, will not be forgotten....

Bulgaria's Atanasov Pays Visit to CSSR

Received by Adamec

AU0806132389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 7 Jun 89 p 1

[CTK report: "A Comprehensive Development of Relations; Georgi Atanasov Has Arrived in the CSSR for a Friendly Working Visit; Receptions by Milos Jakes and Gustav Husak; Talks With Ladislav Adamec; a Gala Banquet"]

[Text] Prague—Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic, arrived yesterday morning for a 2-day friendly working visit to Czechoslovakia. Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier, at whose invitation the visit is taking place, welcomed Georgi Atanasov at Ruzyne Airport in Prague, which was decorated with the state flags of both countries.

The guest was further welcomed by Pavel Hrivnak and Bohumil Urban, deputy premiers of the CSSR Government, Jan Sterba, CSSR minister of foreign trade, Pavel Sadovsky, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, and other government officials. Vaclav Janousek and Toncho Chakarov, the ambassadors of both countries, were present.

Cordial Talks

Yesterday in Prague, Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, in the presence of Ladislav Adamec, received Georgi Atanasov.

In a cordial comradely conversation both representatives positively evaluated the level of bilateral cooperation which has been achieved between the CSSR and Bulgaria and expressed their support for the further comprehensive development of mutual relations. They stated that it is necessary to utilize modern forms of production and scientific-technical cooperation both within CEMA and also on a bilateral basis. They showed a concurrence of views about the fact that it is necessary to solve jointly, in the interest of strengthening their unity and cooperation, the issues and tasks which are arising in the development of the socialist countries.

Milos Jakes acquainted his guest with the contemporary internal political situation, with the progress of economic reform, and with the democratization of political and social life in Czechoslovakia. He spoke about the overall concept of restructuring and about the tasks which the CPCZ is resolving in connection with the preparations for the 18th party congress.

Georgi Atanasov reported on the current issues of economic and social development in Bulgaria and about the situation in relations between the Balkan States.

Vaclav Janousek and Toncho Chakarov, the ambassadors of both countries, were present during the friendly conversation.

Gustav Husak, CSSR president, in the presence of Ladislav Adamec, yesterday received Georgi Atanasov in Prague Castle.

In a cordial and friendly conversation both statesmen appraised the traditionally good mutual relations of friendship and collaboration which are being developed in all spheres in harmony with the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance. At the same time, they referred to the significance of the creation of comprehensive conditions for the development of new, more effective forms of cooperation such as industrial cooperation, the setting up of joint enterprises and the development of direct ties between manufacturing organizations, research institutes, and also cultural, educational, and health institutions. In an exchange of views on contemporary international development both sides confirmed their resolve to continue to actively contribute to the creation of an atmosphere of trust and security in Europe and in the world, in the endeavor to guarantee lasting peace.

Frantisek Salda, director of the Chancellery of the President, and Vaclav Janousek and Toncho Chakarov, the ambassadors of both countries, participated in the reception.

Discussions Have Begun

Yesterday in the Hrzan Palace in Prague discussions began between Ladislav Adamec and Georgi Atanasov.

Georgi Atanasov informed Ladislav Adamec in detail about the contemporary internal political and economic situation in Bulgaria and about his views on international-political development in the world, with particular emphasis on the Balkan region. The process of the restructuring of Bulgarian society, which was initiated after the 13th Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Congress, is going through the stages of experiments and searching. The resolution from the July 1987 BCP Central Committee session, which adopted the concept of the restructuring of all spheres of social life, democratization, the flow of public information, and the construction of a self-governing society, plays a significant role in this. Georgi Atanasov defined restructuring as a long-term process, at the very beginning of which Bulgaria is standing. The problems of restructuring are very complicated but this does not mean, stressed Georgi Atanasov, that we will at the same time renounce our past and ideals.

Relations between Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia cannot be measured only according to the volume of the exchange of goods. There are really good, friendly ties between our two socialist countries, ties which have good prospects. The breadth of these ties is such that it would be illogical if problems did not also arise in them. This

applies, in particular, to the economic sphere where it will be necessary to gradually create the most perfect conditions possible for the development of cooperation, especially in the founding of joint enterprises in the sphere of automobile production, in electronics, in precision engineering, and in other sectors.

Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier, acquainted his guest with the internal-political and economic development of Czechoslovakia. The CSSR Government is resolving two tasks at the same time: consistent economic reform and a renewal of internal and external equilibrium. Everything is further linked with profound structural changes which are already coming into being or we are preparing for them. Even during this complicated situation it is essential to purposefully continue in the restructuring of society. Bilateral economic relations with Bulgaria have successful development behind them, said Ladislav Adamec. Their present state, however, does not fill us with satisfaction alone. This concerns, first and foremost, the contractual discipline of our Bulgarian partners in adhering to the contracted orders. It is essential that we discuss this seriously on both sides and find an appropriate solution. Possibilities for the further development of cooperation undoubtedly exist. For example, in automobile production, where it would be possible to find certain forms of cooperation. It will also be necessary to clarify the further interest of the Bulgarian side in supplies of Czechoslovak energy equipment, particularly as far as nuclear reactors are concerned.

Ladislav Adamec alluded urgently to the letters which he receives from Czechoslovak citizens concerning their experiences as tourists in Bulgaria. For a long time there have been repeated complaints about problems in supplies and hygiene.

Both heads of government further exchanged views on the possibility of the continued development of CEMA and confirmed a positive evaluation of ties in the scientific-technical, cultural, and sporting spheres.

Pavel Hrivnak and Bohumil Urban, CSSR first deputy premiers, Jan Sterba, CSSR minister for foreign trade, Pavel Sadovsky, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, Stoyan Ovcharov, Bulgarian minister of planning and economy, Mariy Ivanov, Bulgarian first deputy minister of foreign affairs, Vaclav Janousek and Toncho Chakarov, the ambassadors of both countries, and other Czechoslovak and Bulgarian officials also participated in the discussion.

After this discussion talks continued between individual members of the delegations on the specific problems of cooperation between the CSSR and Bulgaria.

Yesterday in Prague L. Adamec hosted a gala banquet in honor of G. Atanasov. Members of the CSSR Government, the Bulgarian Government delegation, and other Czechoslovak and Bulgarian officials participated in it. Ladislav Adamec and Georgi Atanasov made speeches during the banquet.

The banquet took place in a friendly, comradely atmosphere.

Atanasov Delivers Dinner Address

AU0906110489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Jun 89 p 2

[Speech by Georgi Atanasov, chairman of Bulgaria's Council of Ministers, at the dinner given in his honor in Prague on 6 June: "Most Effective Forms of Economic Cooperation"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Adamec, dear Czechoslovak friends, permit me to thank you most cordially for the invitation to visit your country and for the hospitality and attention accorded to us. Much has been written about the historical relations between the peoples of Bulgaria and of Czechoslovakia, for the simple reason that they are truly an example of sincere friendship and mutual respect.

The foundations of our mutual relations were laid by the Slav teachers Cyril and Methodius and affirmed by the great sons of our peoples, Georgi Dimitrov and Klement Gottwald, so that they would be further consolidated in the struggle for freedom.

This year we will be jointly commemorating significant events in our history—the 45th anniversaries of Bulgaria's socialist revolution and of the Slovak National Uprising, both them glorious entries on the pages of the history of our fraternal countries. We will pay the tribute they merit to all the Bulgarians, Czechs, and Slovaks who had fought side by side against their common enemy, for the welfare and progress of our peoples.

Our countries are currently undergoing restructuring and revival processes, and also deep changes in their economic and spiritual life and in their social system of values. Under the leadership of their Communist Parties, the course of further developing socialist democracy is being pursued on a broad basis. The purpose of this entire historical feat is to fully reveal the potential and possibilities of socialism and to fully meet the needs of our contemporary society.

In this complicated, multifaceted process, the exchange of experience and the inspiring example of the Soviet Union are significant prerequisites for creating a new concept of socialism. The forms and methods used in linkage with the specific features and peculiarities of individual countries enrich us.

The restructuring process also has a qualitative impact on our bilateral relations, which are based on trust and understanding between the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ], between the peoples of our countries. The negotiations

conducted in Sofia in April 1988 by Todor Zhivkov and Milos Jakes, BCP and CPCZ Central Committee general secretaries respectively, and the results they have led to, particularly the Long-Term Program of Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation signed by them, have provided a new incentive for cooperation.

Life has shown us that we must apply new principles, particularly in the economic sphere. We are convinced that our efforts must concentrate on long-term technological trends and take into account the structural changes in the economies of our countries, the broad implementation and dissemination of specialization and cooperation, the establishment of mixed enterprises and associations, and joint entries into third markets.

In this sense a timely and precise knowledge of the true interests and possibilities of the individual countries becomes increasingly significant, since only they can enable us to succeed in finding the optimum solution and, in due course, to raise the level of bilateral economic relations in the qualitative sense. Quality, and the world standards of our products, must obviously become the main criterion of our economic cooperation.

Although our countries have an extensive and dynamic cooperation, difficulties do sometimes crop up. In such cases frankness and a mutually exacting attitude are essential; the same naturally applies to a calm approach, to an objective joint analysis, and to effective measures for overcoming these difficulties.

It is only natural that we link all bilateral cooperation with the further development of our common economic organization—CEMA.

We know that this year fraternal Czechoslovakia will be tackling significant, urgent tasks. Great attention will be devoted to the successful conclusion of the fourth year of the Eighth 5-Year Plan and to the implementation of the CSSR Government's policy statement of 8 November 1988, aimed at improving the mechanism of economic management and at enhancing the efficiency of economy. Intensive preparations are also underway for the 18th CPCZ Congress.

We are convinced that the accomplishment of set tasks will help to improve the Czechoslovak people's living standards and that it will be favorably reflected in the Bulgarian-Czechoslovak economic relations.

The prospects for developing our bilateral contacts even further in the political and cultural spheres and in tourism are favorable.

In international issues, our positions are concurrent; they are in harmony with new political thinking and with the trends that are pushing their way toward a transition from competition in armament to disarmament.

It was only after a long time and after undergoing many a heavy trial that the nations have adopted new thinking and a new philosophy and realized the great truth that the European continent is the common home of us all, of all people living in it—although Jiri of Podebrady and Jan Amos Comenius strove to push through this truth a long time ago.

It is also no coincidence that it was in Prague that Mikhail Gorbachev uttered his significant words in 1987: "In the spirit of new political thinking, we have come here with the idea of a common European home."

The constructive proposals of the USSR, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the CSSR, and other countries of the socialist community are aimed at consolidating the process taking place throughout Europe and at implementing in practice the submitted ideas and proposals.

Our foreign policy must be based on new political thinking also in the future; it must develop mutually advantageous cooperation on the basis of equal rights and in keeping with the interests of socialist states, and do this with great patience and determination, without retreating from our principled positions.

We welcome and support Czechoslovakia's proposals to consolidate trust and cooperation in Europe and to protect the ecology of our old continent.

Bulgaria's initiatives in the Balkans are a matter of general knowledge. The People's Republic of Bulgaria will contribute also in the future toward developing the idea of our common European home and toward promoting the philosophy of new political thinking.

Esteemed Comrade Adamec, I am convinced that our negotiations will help to intensify the collaboration of our two states and nations and to reveal the real values of socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the CSSR.

Adamec Speech at Dinner

AU0806114189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Jun 89 p 2

[Speech by CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec at dinner for Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Peoples Republic of Bulgaria, in Prague on 6 June: "Most Effective Forms of Economic Cooperation"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Atanasov, esteemed guests, permit me to welcome you, Comrade Atanasov, and the members of your entourage most cordially to the CSSR.

Friendship between the peoples of our two countries has deep historic roots. Today we are linked by the effort to carry out the restructuring and democratization of society—an effort inspired by the example of Soviet Communists.

It is no simple matter to proceed along the road of basic changes in the economic mechanism, the road of shaping a new economic structure. In this context the government has to solve complicated issues, while simultaneously preparing effective legal and economic rules. The many problems that crop up during the transition period, when the elements of both the old and the new system of management are valid, must be flexibly resolved. The basic thing is to win the citizens, to mobilize the human potential. In this we rely on the advantages and possibilities of socialism, wishing to enhance its attractions as a modern social system.

Czechoslovakias friendly and effective relations with the socialist countries play an important role in restructuring. I am glad to be able to use precisely these terms in characterizing Czechoslovak-Bulgarian relations. The basic strategic line in the development of bilateral economic and scientific-technical cooperation is contained in the long-term program planned through the year 2000, which was signed by Milos Jakes and Todor Zhivkov, general secretaries of the Central Committees of our communist parties, in April 1988.

The long-term trade agreement envisages that the total turnover in the exchange of goods within the present 5-year period will amount to r5.4 million; this is more than a 70-percent increase, compared with the preceding 5-year period. The results achieved during the first 3 years of the 5-Year Plan make it obvious that the plan will not be fulfilled. We are glad that we mutually agree about the need to improve the fulfillment of contracted orders. This is particularly important in those sectors and specific productions in which the exchange of goods is carried out on the basis of specialization and cooperation accords. It is said that strict accounting makes for good friends. Life teaches us to regard mutually exacting approaches to the fulfillment of undertaken commitments as a practical expression of socialist internationalism. Covering up weaknesses, overlooking mistakes, or becoming reconciled to shortcomings has nothing in common with real comradely relations; instead of benefiting the common cause of socialism, this harms it. We therefore want to take this course both in our bilateral relations, and within the framework of CEMA.

At the same time we already have examples of good cooperation between our countries—I recall here the example of the Liaz and Madara enterprises; other contracts are planned, too. Czechoslovakia's main concern is to enhance our economic and scientific-technical potential via cooperation and to make joint use of all the advantages of the international economic division of labor.

Tourism between our countries has a broad basis and everything that is being done by our two governments, everything that is being said, can thus be directly checked by our citizens. We have openly discussed the improvement of tourism, since it is in our mutual interests to satisfy the vacationers on the Black Sea coast, so as to induce them to travel there in increasing numbers.

Work has recently started on the coordination of our national economic plans for the period 1991-95. In our view, this should include only the main priorities and the deliveries guaranteed by the state. Other kinds of exchanges of goods should be provided for on the basis of contracts between suppliers and consignees. The production and trade organizations of the two countries should have the decisive say already at this preparatory stage of coordination. It is necessary to jointly see to it that our intentions do not remain merely on paper. A year ago, in order to promote the development of direct relations between the enterprises of our two countries, we signed an agreement on the clearing of accounts in national currencies. According to my information, this method has not yet been used for settling the accounts of even a single trade operation.

I am glad that we have dealt with the issues of developing our cooperation with the necessary frankness. Our talks have also reaffirmed the concurrence of our views in the international sphere.

Adamec, Atanasov Final Talks

LD0706224689 Prague CTK in English 1226 GMT 7 Jun 89

[Text] Prague June 7 (CTK)—Bulgarian Premier Georgi Atanasov ended his friendly working visit to Czechoslovakia today and left here for Warsaw. He was seen off at Prague Airport by Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec at whose invitation the visit took place.

Earlier today, the two premiers met for final talks. They agreed that the long-term agreement on coordination of their countries' economic plans for the years 1991-1995 will be signed by the end of April next year. By the end of this year, the possibilities will be cleared for further development of cooperation in automobile industry, electrical engineering and electronics. By the end of September, Bulgaria will provide its attitude towards imports of further Czechoslovak-made nuclear reactors, non-commercial rate of exchange between the Czechoslovak crown and the Bulgarian leva will be discussed as well as improvement of tourist services for Czechoslovak citizens in Bulgaria. The two sides will assess the possibilities and terms for the increase in supplies of fruit and vegetables from Bulgaria to Czechoslovakia. Both premiers expressed the necessity to improve the fulfilment of obligations as well as the quality of exported goods. They charged the chairmen of the two sections of the Czechoslovak-Bulgarian committee for economic, scientific and technological cooperation with discussing new forms of cooperation in the course of this year.

Press Statements on Visit

LD0706225189 Prague CTK in English 1536 GMT 7 Jun 89

[Text] Prague June 7 (CTK)—Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia experience important changes linked with restructuring, with the restoration of their social systems, Bulgarian Premier Georgi Atanasov said in a statement to Czechoslovak and Bulgarian journalists here today after ending his final talks with Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec.

The targets at which we aim, the approaches which we choose to achieve these targets, are identical or very close. In this stage of restructuring of our social order, we feel the necessity of mutual cooperation, exchange of experience, joint actions, Georgi Atanasov said.

He pointed out that his talks with Ladislav Adamec included all problems and aspects of bilateral cooperation. The talks were comprehensive, frank and sincere and contained both criticism and self-criticism. Though the visit was very short, I leave Czechoslovakia being very contented with the course of our work.

As regards international questions, we stated that the stands of the two governments, the two countries and their peoples are identical. Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia strive for the process of transition from confrontation to cooperation and the atmosphere of peace and cooperation in Europe and the world to be lasting, Georgi Atanasov stressed.

Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec told journalists in his statement that he and Georgi Atanasov informed each other of the course of restructuring and spoke openly about difficulties and problems which arise during its realization. These initial problems must be gradually solved and removed.

We paid great attention to economic relations which have a long tradition and are good. We also discussed questions concerning power engineering as the Bulgarian side will deal with the problems of nuclear power stations. Czechoslovakia, which is a producer of reactors, will agree with Bulgaria on the extent and terms of their deliveries. We agreed that maximum attention must be paid to the quality of products, Ladislav Adamec said.

He stressed the necessity to think about the causes of slow establishment of joint ventures as well as insufficient cooperation on third markets.

Government Working Meeting Held With Bulgaria

AU0806125589 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Jun 89 p 2

[CTK report: "A Working Meeting"]

[Text] Prague—Yesterday in Prague a working meeting took place between Bohumil Urban, deputy premier of the CSSR Government and chairman of the State Planning Commission, and Stojan Ovcharov, candidate member of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and minister for the planning and economy of the Bulgarian Peoples Republic [BPR]. The discussion concentrated on the progress of the coordination of national economic plans between the CSSR and the BPR for the period 1991-95. It was stated that this activity, particularly at the enterprise level, has not yet developed to a sufficient extent. Therefore, it is essential that the economic organizations of both countries more initiatively agree upon technical-economic conditions of cooperation and concrete agreements so that the results can be worked into the planning documents of both countries for the period 1991-95. At the same time, the talks were a preparation for the meeting between the two countries heads of government. Vaclav Janousek, CSSR ambassador in the BPR, and Toncho Chakarov, BPR ambassador in the CSSR, were also present at the meeting.

Husak Sends Tidings to Khomeyni's Successor

AU0806155589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Jun 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "Receptions, Talks, Telegrams, Letters" column]

[Text] Prague—CSSR President Gustav Husak sent a telegram of congratulations to President 'Ali Seyyed Khamene'i on the occasion of his election as leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Jakes Speeks at Kladno Steelworks 31 May

AU0606190089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Jun 89 p 1

[Jaroslav Simek report: "Quality and Reliability"]

[Excerpts] Kladno (From our own correspondent)—On Wednesday [31 May], at a ceremonial gathering, the workforce of the Poldi United Steelworks National Enterprise [SONP] commemorated the 100th anniversary of the production of high-grade steel in Kladno. Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, Josef Haman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Central Bohemia CPCZ Central Committee, Karel Julis, CSSR deputy premier and minister of metallurgy, engineering, and the electrotechnical industry, Vaclav Stafek, deputy chairman of the Chamber of Nations of the Federal Assembly, and other guests were present. [passage omitted]

Milos Jakes congratulated the workforce of the enterprise on the 100th anniversary of the existence of the steelworks. The tradition which you have is a binding one, he said. First and foremost, is the fact that you have always strived to be at the forefront of what is best in the world and, further, that the Poldi workforce has always been among those who marched in step with progress, the times, and revolution. Together with the miners from the Kladno area they were the dynamic force of social

progress in our country. They played a large role in the socialist development of our country and still have a role today in ensuring that we continue to strengthen socialism by means of restructuring and democratization so that it serves the interests of our people even better. You rightly welcomed the 100th anniversary of the enterprise with new successful results. This is borne out by the recognition and personal distinctions which the enterprise and its meritorious workers received today. I congratulate the collectives and individuals on the just appreciation of their work.

Of course, the world is not standing still and not even we can stop in our tracks. We are learning from what we have done, we are continuing with what was good, and we are overcoming those things with which we were unsuccessful. We are looking forward to our life being happier, peaceful, and secure. We are building a just social order which such a life allows.

The resolutions which we have are realistic under the conditions that each of us will endeavor to work better and more satisfactorily and will create preconditions for this through high levels of skill and a zest for work and through a high level of discipline and order. Without this, further progress will not take place. This involves a new stage of development linked, in particular, with scientific-technical progress and with the constant modernization of production. I think that Kladno, and especially Poldi SONP, is setting an example in this; an example in the sense that it is pursuing the systematic modernization and reconstruction of the plants so that it can serve the national economy and engineering even better and so that this branch helps to create the means and resources for safeguarding our needs by importing from abroad.

Our cooperation within the framework of the socialist community and within the framework of CEMA is also important. Although there are serious problems and shortcomings here, we regard this cooperation as a great source of our further possibilities under the condition that this community will function better, for which we are striving.

Of course, what we do here is not to the everyone's taste. Many difficulties and problems are expected along the road along which we have embarked. While overcoming the shortcomings there will be certain conflicts. Sometimes it will even involve misunderstanding and an incorrect interpretation of what we want to do or where we are heading. In this connection, he mentioned that there are forces which would like to abuse the process of restructuring and democratization against socialism to destabilize our country.

Our progress demands that all honest people come together to strengthen socialism through good work in the interest of the happy and satisfied lives of our people.

Comrade Jakes expressed his confidence that the workforce of the Poldi-United Steelworks and of Kladno will also contribute to this by contributing to the development of the national economy. [passage omitted]

Jakes Salutes Indian Communist Party Chief
AU0806155789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Jun 89 p 2

["z"-signed report in the "Receptions, Talks, Telegrams, Letters" column]

[Text] Prague—Chandra Rajeswara Rao, general secretary of the National Council of the Communist Party of India, was 75 on Tuesday [6 June]. Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, sent him a telegram of congratulations on this occasion.

Committee 'Appeal' to Israeli Authorities
AU0806143089

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 7 June on page 2, under the headline "Appeal to Israeli Authorities," carries a 450-word "statement" by the Czechoslovak preparatory committee for the international model conference on the Middle East, which was held in Prague last December. The statement reacts to the decision by Israeli authorities to launch investigations against Israeli citizens Modekhai Bar-On, Avishai Maargalit, and Tawfiq Tubi, because of their participation in the event and their contacts with PLO members while in Prague. The statement describes this action as a "gross violation of the generally recognized elementary norms of human rights," as "running counter to the spirit of present international relations," and as "completely absurd, anachronistic, and belonging to the arsenal of outdated confrontation approaches." The statement expresses solidarity with the Israeli participants in the Prague conference and "appeals" to the Israeli authorities to halt their "persecution" and thus contribute to confidence between the parties involved in the Middle East conflict.

Yemen's Colonel Klicha, Entourage Arrive 5 Jun
AU0806125789 Prague PUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Jun 89 p 2

[Report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] Colonel Husayn 'Ali Hasan, member of the Yemen Socialist Party Central Committee and Chief of the Political Administration of the Armed Forces of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen [PDRY], and his entourage arrived on Monday [5 June] for a visit to Czechoslovakia. Colonel General Jaroslav Klicha, chief of the Political Main Administration of the Czechoslovak People's Army, welcomed the guests at Ruzyne Airport. Sayf Mufsin Husayn, PDRY ambassador in the CSSR, was also present. Later the first working meeting took place, which was devoted to mutual information on

the fulfillment of the tasks of party-political and ideological work under the conditions of both armies and to an exchange of experiences from the activity of political organs and party organizations.

Federal Assembly Decides To Convene 20, 21 Jun

AU0806172489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Jun 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Joint Meeting of Federal Assembly Chambers Convened"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)—On Tuesday [6 June] in Prague, the Presidiums of the People's Chamber and the Chamber of Nations of the CSSR Federal Assembly discussed preparations for the 14th joint meeting of the two chambers and decided to convene the meeting for 20 and 21 June 1989. The agenda will include the attestation of the validity of the election of deputies in the recent by-elections.

Furthermore, the deputies will discuss at their joint meeting the CSSR premier's report on the development of the national economy and current tasks; the closing account of the state budget of the Czechoslovak Federation for 1988; and government-sponsored draft laws that are important for the creation of the legal foundation for the restructuring of the economic mechanism—the law on national economic planning and the law on the Czechoslovak state railroads—as well as several drafts of international treaties.

The chambers' Presidiums noted that most committees of the two chambers recommended that, for substantive reasons as well as for reasons of time, the government-sponsored draft amendment to the law on the personal ownership of apartments not be put on the agenda of the June meeting of the two chambers. The Presidiums therefore decided not to include this draft amendment in the agenda of the 14th joint meeting.

European Catholics 3-Day Session in Prague Ends

AU0806113189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Jun 89 p 7

[CTK report: "Greater Security With Fewer Weapons"]

[Text] Prague—The 3-day expanded session of the Presidium of the Berlin Conference of European Catholics, which is the only international peace forum to rally Catholics from 21 European states, concluded in Prague on Sunday [4 June].

The session was attended by leading representatives of the Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic clergy, which hosted this peace gathering jointly with the Czech Catholic Charity.

The Presidium discussed the plan of action for the coming 2-year period, which envisages, for instance, sending a delegation of young Catholics to the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students in the DPRK. A dialogue forum of European Catholics under the motto "Preserve peace among you" will be held in Frankfurt/Oder in the GDR toward the end of October. One of the items on the agenda of this dialogue, "more security with fewer weapons," was also the main topic at the Prague session of the Berlin Conference.

On the last day of the session, the Presidium members were received by Cardinal Tomasek, who welcomed the work of the Berlin conference and encouraged it to continue its beneficial activities.

Chairman Krenz Rules Out German Reunification

AU0806163889 Hamburg DPA in German 1604 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] Saarbruecken—Deputy GDR State Council Chairman Egon Krenz has ruled out German-German reunification in the long run. At the close of 2 days of talks between a GDR delegation and representatives of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] in Saarbruecken, Krenz stressed that, in the long run, the existence of two German states is an element of security, cooperation, and stability in Europe. Krenz literally said that there was nothing to unite and nothing to reunite. After the talks, SPD Deputy Chairman Lafontaine and Krenz emphasized the great extent of agreement between the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the SPD on security issues.

Krenz Stresses View of PRC 'Counterrevolution'

AU0806194089 Hamburg DPA in German 1855 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] Saarbruecken (DPA)—GDR Deputy State Council Chairman Egon Krenz stressed East Berlin's view that "there was an intention to exploit the students' peaceful demonstrations for a counterrevolutionary coup in the PRC." In a statement sent to DPA on Thursday evening [8 June], Krenz, who was in the Saarland at the end of his 2-day visit, rejected statements to the contrary by Saarland Minister President Oskar Lafontaine (Social Democratic Party of Germany) as "irresponsible" [nicht zu verantworten].

The day before, during his meeting with Krenz, Lafontaine said that the GDR's attempts to describe the use of the Army in China against the protesting students and workers as crushing a counterrevolutionary riot are completely unfounded. Krenz now retorted that in assessing the situation in China one cannot proceed from the "horrorifying descriptions by the FRG media," but one must rely on the real events and on the official statements by the PRC party and state leadership.

Says FRG Remarks 'Irresponsible'

LD0806214889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1931 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] Saarbruecken (ADN)—During his visit to Neunkirchen in Saarland, Egon Krenz [deputy chairman of the GDR State Council] was asked by representatives of the press for his assessment of the remarks by Minister-President Oskar Lafontaine in connection with the events in the PRC. Egon Krenz said in this connection:

"The remarks by the Saarland Minister-President are in complete contradiction to the actual events in the PRC. From our point of view they are irresponsible.

"Since in today's FRG press these remarks by Oskar Lafontaine are portrayed as the main content of the Saarbruecken talks, I consider it necessary to reiterate my standpoint already expressed yesterday in the interview for ARD's German TV [first program] "Tagesthemen": An assessment of the events in the PRC cannot be based on the horror versions of the FRG media. One must base it on the actual events and the statements of the Chinese party and state leaders, which clearly and plainly establish that the peaceful student demonstrations were to be exploited for a counterrevolutionary coup in the PRC.

"You will understand that in the assessment of events we keep objectively to the official announcements and are not guided by reports based on rumors distortions, and suppositions.

"As far as Oskar Lafontaine's remarks about socialism in the GDR and the freedom of its citizens are concerned, as is known he has had the opportunity often enough to see for himself in our country that socialism in the GDR is identical with true freedom and democracy."

Fischer Greets Shevardnadze's Berlin Arrival

LD0906083289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0748 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister and CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, arrived in Berlin this morning for an official friendly visit. He was invited by the party and state leadership. The guest was welcomed at Berlin-Schoenefeld airport by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, with whom he is to conduct talks.

The agenda of the 1-day visit also includes a meeting with Erich Honecker and a visit to Marx-Engels forum in Berlin.

People's Chamber Statement on CSCE Process

LD0806134889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1004 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The text of the statement of the People's Chamber on the implementation of the agreements of the CSCE process is as follows:

The GDR People's Chamber has from the start welcomed and supported the many comprehensive efforts by the party and state leadership of the GDR with regard to constantly deepening the Europe-wide process begun with the Helsinki Final Acts. Its significance for security and cooperation and thus for the future of the continent is apparent to everyone today. Especially the internationally binding specification of the political and territorial results of World War II and of post-war developments carried out in the Final Acts helped to ensure that the peoples of Europe today are enjoying the longest period of peace in the history of the continent. After the

conclusion of the historic INF treaty, the start of negotiations on conventional disarmament and further confidence-building measures in Europe, the Europeans are being offered the unique opportunity to create an everlasting peace from this.

The concern of all People's Chamber groups is thus all the greater when they see that certain NATO circles, improperly invoking the final document of the Vienna follow-up meeting, are demanding a change to the borders of Europe and are interfering in the internal affairs of the GDR and other socialist states, as for example attempted in a resolution by the FRG Bundestag of 16 March 1989. This behavior is in blatant contradiction of the fact that the codex of principles in the Helsinki Final Act was also established in the Vienna document. Respect for the principles of the inviolability of borders, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the states, noninterference in the internal affairs of other states, respect for their differences are, and remain, fundamental conditions for peace in Europe. The document of the Vienna meeting accordingly spells out the right of each state to freely chose and develop its political order and determine its own laws and regulations, its policy and praxis. The agreements of Vienna—the materialization of which the GDR contributed to with complete readiness for understanding and compromise—are being implemented on that basis.

From the very start the CSCE agreements have been regarded as one entity. They have been translated as responsibly in the human rights and humanitarian sphere as in the sphere of military detente and confidence-building, the economy, science and technology as well as the environment. Basic human rights are a reality as a matter of course in the GDR. Freedom, social justice, the rule of law, full employment and social security are guarantees of human dignity. Mass unemployment, homelessness, a crisis in education and the health service, by contrast, demonstrate an acute need for action by Western states. This applies equally when revanchism, neo-Nazism and hostility to foreigners are not punished.

Working for a permanent peace in Europe and the world is not the sole task of politicians and diplomats. It must become an iron dictate for the actions of the broad strata of the population. The GDR People's Chamber thus calls on all people of good will to resolutely devote all their strength to this lofty goal, irrespective of different political and ideological positions.

Bishop Appeals For Survey of Vote Discrepancies

AU0906093489 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 0900 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Text] East Berlin Bishop Forck has again appealed to the GDR leadership to examine the results of the recent municipal elections and to provide information on discrepancies in the counting of votes. Despite several inquiries, he has so far received no statement that the discrepancies in the count which have become known will be examined, Forck stated on Deutschlandfunk this morning. The bishop said that it would not be opportune for the 23d Evangelical Church Conference in West Berlin to adopt a resolution to this effect. It is better to press for clarification of the discrepancies in this question in the GDR. At the same time, Forck stressed that the GDR leadership must be prepared to permit criticism and opposition.

Paper Comments on Beijing Events, Leadership

Editorial Condemns 'Bloodbath'

AU0806124289 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 6 Jun 89 p 3

[Editorial by foreign affairs correspondent Viktor Palfi: "Bloodbath"]

[Text] Although made up of elderly statesmen, the fundamentalist wing of the Chinese leadership which seems to exercise power today has not learned much from the past. The official communiques issued about the current events abound in conclusions of dogmatic bias so familiar to us, like "the military units enjoying the support of masses and students (?!) were compelled to take firm action against a very small number of counterrevolutionary rebels...." according to concurring statements made by eyewitnesses, the almost panicky central power had to deploy several Army divisions against this small number of rebels. In its editorial, the Army daily praises "the thousands of soldiers who have won a great victory and have saved socialism, the leading role of the communist party, the peoples power, and the peoples democratic dictatorship...."

Heaven help the kind of socialism which its soldiers have to defend against their own people! And heaven help the Army that becomes stronger by means of such "great victories!" Although the deployed soldiers perhaps have now saved the dictatorship of a power group, this might turn out to be only temporary. People will definitely present the bill for all this; and the alarming thing about this is that they might present the bill not only to those responsible. It could easily happen that the peoples wreath would give a sound beating to the idea of socialism, because everything directed against the Chinese people in recent decades—from the "Great Leap Forward" and the "Cultural Revolution" to the recent bloodbath in the Tiananmen Square—has been made on behalf of socialism.

A maniac adherence to power—this is what has always characterized the "founding fathers" of the Chinese revolution. Of course, their style changed, and no doubt, it has become more attractive. There was already talk of reforms—mainly economic ones—and one could also speak of democracy, as long as someone did not take these things too seriously. The students' "guilt" was the fact that they took the need for democracy on Chinese soil seriously. They also did that 2 years ago, at the time of their first demonstrations. The "guardians" of socialism considered the students' action of 2 years ago as "the spread of ideas of bourgeois liberalism" and blamed the then CPC General Secretary Hu Yaobang for all this.

His successor, Zhao Ziyang had the same fate; rumors have it that he is on house arrest. Is it not food for thought for the "hard core" of the Chinese leadership that the very party secretary whom they appointed to "make order" has fallen in the same "sin" as his predecessor and showed his solidarity with the students? If it did not have such bloody consequences, one could even regard the threatening with counterrevolution as ridiculous. One should hardly be apprehensive about the safety of socialism because of the students demands. In addition to more democracy, the students demand the following: The struggle declared against bourgeois liberation should be officially "discontinued;" the monthly income of high ranking leaders and their family members should be made public; a tougher struggle should be conducted against corruption and the abuse of office; a true freedom of press and assembly; and greater attention should be given to the development of education.

Anyone who tries to peel off some kind of "counterrevolutionary bomb" from these demands for public honesty will take upon himself an almost impossible task! These things could not even emerge as demands in a normal society! And the terrible thing is that blood flows in Beijing streets in the attempt to supress these demands. The most populous country in the world is on the verge of civil war—and it has a tradition in this. The world is watching China with shock and is virtually unified in condemning the bloody orgy in Beijing. Nobody is indifferent to the events taking place in China. All of us follow the developments with concern and feel solidarity with a peaceful solution. All this is even more valid for the socialist countries.

'Showdown,' Future Prospects Viewed

AU0806154689 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 6 Jun 89 p 2

[Editorial by Peter Barabas: "Showdown—Without Winners"]

[Text] Blood is flowing in the streets in Beijing. Something that nobody believed would occur has nevertheless taken place: a brutal showdown with students who have been demonstrating for weeks. I look at the bleeding bodies and I cannot get their faces out of my mind. Faces and expressions appear in front of me, faces and expressions belonging to boys and girls with whom we were strolling on the main street in the days prior to the state of emergency. We, Hungarian journalists, were hurrying to get to the news conference given by Mikhail Gorbachev, and the students were hurrying to convey to the government their slogans demanding more democracy.

For a long time I could not understand their serene happiness and self-confidence. When they formed the letter V with their fingers, they already anticipated victory. Perhaps their optimism derived from the fact that both a demand and opportunity for greater intellectual freedom was a natural consequence of the spectacular development of past years, or perhaps from the fact that, after gaining the support of the population in Beijing and in regional capitals, they justifiably felt that those who tried to present the students' demonstration as an isolated action of a narrow group had lost the battle.

A witness can have no doubt about the fact that the masses of several million people invalidated the famous article published in RENMIN RIBAO on 27 April, which spoke of a "handful of people," an "extremist minority" and a "planned conspiracy." When recognized leaders like party General Secretary Zhao Ziyang admitted in front of television cameras that the students' demands were legitimate, the demonstrators also could not help but think that, sooner or later, the government would identify with their efforts.

However the government did not identify with these efforts, and now, looking at the blood-soaked Tiananmen Square, one has to ask the question, "Why?" This Chinese leadership that instituted courageous reforms and made bold decisions about renewal must have also been aware of both the demand for more democracy and the demand to better appreciate the intellectuals and to eliminate corruption. Why then did they open fire against the unarmed masses and accept the extremely dangerous and unpredictable confrontation?!

There was more at stake than met the eye. In reality, the battle front in Tiananmen Square was not between the students and the government. This battle reached much deeper, and also much higher regions. The battle was on how China should advance and which road it should choose once it has come to a crossroads, because this huge country has come to a crossroads. Not only the continuation of the economic reform has raised unsolved question, but a compelling need to restructure both the lower and higher echelons of the political system has also emerged, a political system that has lost touch with the economic reform. It must have been obvious to the leadership that it had to move and it had to change and reform things in their policy, too. The debate was on how to do this.

The battle on Tiananmen Square was fought about this issue of how to do things. The government struck a blow against those who saw the guarantees of development in widening democracy, in providing student autonomy, and in eliminating the obstacles hindering pluralism in society. However, these people are not the only losers, either. There is no real winner in this bloody showdown in Beijing. Both are losers: the policy which endeavored to achieve greater flexibility for the success of socialist countries, and the policy which regarded this battle as one in which any compromise and any retreat would only level a blow at socialism.

We do not know who had the final word and who gave the order to fire. One can hardly imagine that the events of recent weeks have taken place against the will of Deng Xiaoping. The great old man and the father of reform failed to overcome the dilemma of how to preserve the stability of this gigantic country without having to resort to arms; how to give more democracy without giving in to the political erosion which he feared would upset stability; and how to keep the gates wide open to Western capitals without also letting in the Western ideas.

The signs show that he, without whom China would have hardly achieved all the things it has finally achieved, panicked when his followers wanted to advance precisely on the road he himself had chosen. He must have become frightened of the possibility that the events might get out of control and that a real political reform would lead the country in another political direction. Is what many people blame him for true: Namely, that because of his advanced age, he was simply incapable of leading the advance and handling the new challenges? Or perhaps he feared a situation in which those in the street would start dictating the government in China even more than he feared a bloody showdown.

We do not know this, but we do know that a developmental period, even if not a steady one, that brought prosperity to this country has ended now by having those in the street and the government facing opposing sides of a barricade. The consequences are unpredictable, and not only for China.

All those who claim that all these events are exclusively China's internal affairs forget that the leadership of several other socialist countries are facing similar challenges. The answers to be given to these challenges represent a difficult question everywhere. How does one modernize, advance, and democratize in such a way as to combine everything that needs to be preserved with things that should be applied from the experiences of capitalist countries? The answer that has been given in Beijing now makes us sad and raises tormenting doubts. What will become of socialism if, after so much cruel experience, arms are used again on its behalf?!

19 Students Depart Beijing

LD0806160889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] The Hungarian students studying in Beijing on grants have left for home. The 19 young Hungarians will arrive in Zurich tomorrow on a special Swiss Air flight, stopping over in Thailand. The Hungarian Embassy in Switzerland will do its utmost to enable them to travel on to Budapest from Zurich as soon as possible. The relatives of Hungarian diplomats and businessmen in Beijing will fly from Copenhagen this evening on a Hungarian Airlines flight. At the moment, the students studying in Tianjin are unable to travel home. However, those who are attending university in Shanghai will definitely leave for Rome on Saturday.

Trade Minister Deplores Austrian 'Barriers'

AU0906092589 Vienna NEUE AZ in German 9 Jun 89 p 17

[APA report: "In Hungary's View, Trade Relations With Austria Are Underdeveloped"]

[Excerpt] Budapest—Because of Austrian "administrative barriers," particularly in the sphere of textiles and agriculture, Hungary's foreign trade with Austria did not

develop in accordance with imports from Austria, Hungary's Trade Minister Tamas Beck complained. The outspoken minister stated that economic relations between Hungary and Austria "have by far not reached the level of political relations which are considered exemplary."

Beck openly stated that within the framework of the new geographic orientation of Hungary's foreign trade and its new openness to the world market, above all to its traditional partner Austria, the expansion of institutional relations with EFTA [European Free Trade Association] would be desirable and useful. [passage omitted]

New Joint Enterprise Founded With United States

AU0906085989 Budapest MTI in English
1306 GMT 7 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 07/06/1989—The first US-Hungarian securities trading company was founded in Budapest on Wednesday with a starting capital of 525 million forints, shared equally by the founders.

On the US side, the investors include companies with interests in a New York-based firm, and on the Hungarian side the Termin Financial Consulting Group.

The Hungarian-US broker firm intends to take part in the establishment of a stock exchange in Hungary. They also propose to recruit and involve Hungarian private capital in business transactions.

When the Hungarian exchange is in operation, the joint venture intends to act as dealer for US clients, mediating the sale of Hungarian company shares.

Radio Free Europe 'Wishes' Office in Budapest

AU0906095589 Budapest MTI in English
0852 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 8 (MTI)—Radio Free Europe (RFE) wishes to have a representative accredited to Budapest and to open offices here. There is no obstacle to this in principle, and its implementation is already in progress, Jeno Szombath, deputy director of the Press Department at the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, told the Thursday issue of the daily MAGYAR HIRLAP.

An open information policy is in the country's interest, and we do not make a distinction between RFE and other news services. The final document of the Vienna follow-up meeting went a step further than the Helsinki Final Act when it set down in point 39 that journalists can neither be expelled nor punished for legally carrying out their profession. In addition, signatories have agreed not to hinder journalists' activity either for the contents of their own reports or for those of the news company they work for.

Improving the working conditions of foreign journalists should be made a long-term element of Hungarian foreign policy, since journalistic activity is an important element in the assertion of human rights, set down in the third basket of the documents. This is why we advocate at all international forums the need for international openness, Mr Szombath pointed out.

CSSR Envoy Views Bos-Nagymaros Construction

AU0906092489 Budapest MTI in English
1808 GMT 7 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 07/06/1989—"The construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage is a clearly scientific issue, the solution of which is the task of scientists", stressed Czechoslovak Ambassador Vlastimil Ehrenberger, at a forum on Hungarian-Czechoslovak relations, held on Wednesday in Budapest, in the Political College of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSMZP]. According to the ambassador, scientists are capable of solving the problems related to the construction of the power plant, taking the current technical standard into consideration. In his view, the barrage construction should not be turned into a political issue, only the numbers, scientific arguments and laws can have a say in this issue.

The ambassador, who participated in the recent talks between the Hungarian and the Czechoslovak prime ministers, said that at these talks, the Hungarian side mentioned seizmographical and ecological problems, and profitability problems in connection with suspending the further construction of the complex. Mr Ehrenberger said: They are not familiar in detail with the new scientific arguments that justified to suspend the construction, but the Czechoslovak scientists are ready to examine the material together with their Hungarian colleagues. In conclusion, the ambassador said that if the contract for the common construction of the barrage is not observed, Czechoslovakia would request compensation, as would, according to its information, Austria.

Pozsgay To Establish New Movement, Social Model

AU0906093589 Budapest MTI in English
2006 GMT 7 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 7 (MTI)—"What is needed is to create a new social model, as the political, power and economic order of dictatorical socialism has become bankrupt. The squandering of the forces of advance, and the continuous deterioration of the living circumstances meanwhile, offers a scope of movement for the extremist groups. The various forces of pro-order dictatorship and revenge are threateningly present, and can strengthen," Imre Pozsgay stresses, among others, the appeal made public on Wednesday in Budapest, at the session of the preparatory committee of the Movement for Democratic Hungary. The movement wishes to rally people who accept the rise of the nation, European progress and democratic socialism together, irrespective of their party

standing or membership in organizations. The movement awaits all who reject marking time and roll-back, who accept that a democratic road has to be taken to create a democratic Hungary. The movement is expected to hold its founding session within one month.

Imre Pozsgay, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Political Committee and minister of state, stressed at the session of the preparatory committee:

"All sober political forces in our country are alike in that a renewed, democratic Hungary is needed, and that this should be attained on a peaceful road, with an anti-catastrophe policy. The movement needs members who feel responsibility for a democratic Hungary, who firmly take a stand for peaceful transition, who support the change in model, as according to some people there is a chance to create a group in politics in the old fashion, by exploring its reserves. This would pose a danger to transformation, would promote roll-back, and this is what contemporary Hungary needs least of all. The fundamental goal is to create a new statehood, democracy and constitutional state, and to organize free elections," Mr Pozsgay said, among others.

Members of Parliament Consider Defense Budget

LD0706224389 Budapest MTI in English
1434 GMT 7 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 7, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Hungarian Government intends to sell off barracks and other buildings which become empty as a result of the withdrawal of part of the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary.

The government is counting on a budget income of 1 billion forints from such sales, Ministry of Defence officials informed members of the parliamentary Defence Committee.

The MPs [Members of Parliament] wanted to know how the 100 million forints owed by the Soviet Army to Hungarian electric power supply companies will be recovered.

At the meeting, the MPs pointed out that the Army still considered itself in a state of "intensive development" when it came to the issue of what consequences the cutting of the military budget might have.

This year, Hungary is to cut down on military expenditure by 3.7 billion forints as compared to the amount the state budget approved last year.

It was also announced at the Defence Committee meeting that the effective professional and civilian force of the workers' militia will be reduced by 30 per cent by September. (The workers' militia was set up in 1957 as the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party]'s armed force, but was placed under government supervision in 1989).

The body is now seeking to work out a solution whereby the workers' militia can be transformed into an armed force equivalent to a voluntary militia of the Hungarian People's Army. The armed body is trying to make up the 100-million-forint loss which came about with the cut in state budget support, through renting out its camps and vehicles.

Army Daily Comments on Beijing Massacre

AU0806170189 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 6 Jun 89 p 2

[Marek Jurkowski commentary: "Chinese Drama"]

[Text] "We Shall Create a New China"—This slogan was visible not so long ago on the banners carried by students belonging to the NZS [Independent Students Union] demonstrating before the Chinese Embassy in Warsaw. This slogan was chanted at the same time as Beijing students were occupying Tiananmen Square in the Chinese capital. Did those NZS students and sympathizers envisage the building of democracy in Poland in a way similar to the events that took place in Beijing during the hours of last Sunday night and Monday morning?

There are many analogies one could draw. But this is not the point. It is valuable, however, to draw conclusions and learn lessons even though someone could say that conclusions drawn from someone else's tragedy are morally unclean. Nevertheless, such is life. Despite the many different and contradictory news reports from beyond the Great Wall, it is difficult to clearly imagine what took place in Beijing. What is certain is that China is undergoing its greatest drama since the creation of the people's state. The bloody clashes, and the hundreds, if not thousands, of fatalities on both sides must be seen as a national tragedy of all Chinese people. During the student demonstrations on Tiananmen Square, I was writing in these columns that although no resolution was in sight it must surely come. Not even in my wildest dreams did I foresee that it would be so bloody.

The unrest which lasted in Beijing for over 1 month, and the varying degrees of tension, contained within itself the kernel of such a finale, especially when the authorities declared a state of emergency in Beijing. Its disregard by the striking students and the population who supported them became the harbinger of what was to follow. On the other hand, the helplessness and the passivity of the authorities who proclaimed a state of emergency was equally surprising. For over a week, state of emergency regulations were not carried out. Why?

In the absence of any official pronouncements, it would not be incorrect to surmise that this state of affairs was largely the result of deep divisions inside the Chinese party and state leadership, divisions on how to resolve the internal impasse which had lasted for several weeks. This state of indecision undoubtedly heated the atmosphere and brought about one of the most dangerous psychological effects, namely, the Beijing students felt themselves powerful, and reached the conclusion that they could win this battle. Their inflexibility, their rejection of even the smallest of compromises, their reckless belief in their own strength, gave birth to the tragedy which duly took place.

It is true that the Chinese authorities warned of the possibility of using force. The emotions of the demonstrators blunted their rational imagination of the possible extent of its force. This is also a factor in the tragedy which has taken place, and which is not over yet. We have to bear in mind the Chinese reality. We saw the meaning attributed by the Chinese to the word 'counterrevolution' during the 10 years of the cultural revolution, and it is this meaning that has been used in the official communique after the events in Beijing. What great losses the Chinese people suffered during that revolution in all spheres of life. Are we to witness a repeat of all that now?

Within the tragedy that is being played out now in China there lies a bitter paradox. The students rose up in demonstration not against the present system or leadership. The demonstrations, one remembers, began with slogans of support for the authorities actions, in support of the government's reformist line, a further democratization of social life, the elimination of corruption, and increased freedom of speech. Why did it prove impossible to accept these rather modest, but unavoidable demands? It is too early to answer this basic question. Nevertheless it may contain the germ of the whole problem, for the Chinese leadership as well as for the students. Without a doubt traditional Chinese authoritarianism plays a role here as well as past errors. The dynamic and rapid economic changes and the concern, brought about by these changes, that the Chinese economy must not "lose out" are undoubtedly to the government's credit. In this headlong rush to modernize, political reforms have been forgotten, or rather the equilibrium between economy and politics has been forgotten. Such a process throws up conflicts of a political nature which can be solved by political means.

It was not so much that the Chinese authorities forgot about this phenomenon, as the fact that they had no ready solution for solving such social conflicts. No surprise therefore, that we are closely observing the evolution of the situation in our own country. One can bluntly say that for the Chinese we have been and continue to be a kind of experiment in how to solve social conflicts. This topic was paramount in talks held at the highest levels, and also during talks with various lower-level visiting Chinese delegations. I was able to see this in the talks I had with the Chinese from all spheres of life. The shots which were fired on Tiananmen Square are a contradiction and at the same time a signal. They are a contradiction of a political and compromise solution, which is the path for our country. They are also a signal that political reform in China is overdue. This does not in any way diminish the tragedy of the people on both sides which is being played out in the Chinese capital.

Continuing Coverage of General Election Results

Leaders' Statements on Election

AU0806103989 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 5 Jun 89 pp 2, 3

[PAP report: "They Said on the Day of the Elections"]

[Text]

Wojciech Jaruzelski: May Common Sense Triumph

Wojciech Jaruzelski [State Council chairman] and his wife Barbara voted at the premises of the constituency election commission No 10 at several minutes past 0900.

Replying to questions from many journalists present, he said that he wished for himself and for Poland that wisdom, common sense, a feeling of responsibility, and patriotism would triumph. I believe that will happen. Society is full of hope, and this creates a good mood. This hope should not be wasted, he said.

Asked about his proposal contained in his Friday speech, to form a great proreformist coalition, W. Jaruzelski replied that if such a coalition were impossible, he would never have made this proposal. It is not just possible, but necessary, he said.

The next question was: What does Poland stand to gain from this election? I would like Poland to gain calm, W. Jaruzelski replied. That is a priceless commodity. The most important thing for us is to consult each other and build a better future in peace. Our people are very deeply patriotic, so I am sure they will understand this value.

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski: The Degree of Poles Wisdom Will Decide

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski [premier] and his wife cast their votes at the premises of the constituency election commission No 141 at 1100, after which he spoke to journalists.

One question was: Yesterday on television, you said that the election must not divide the Poles, but unite them. What stage is the election commencing?

It should commence a stage of cooperation between the opposition and our coalition camp, M. Rakowski replied. I also had in mind efforts to remove from Poland's sociopolitical life all the phenomena that make it difficult to embark upon a straight path.

Mr Premier, was the next question, how would you compare the 1947 election, the first one after the war, with today's?

The situation in 1947 was different, M. Rakowski replied. It is 40 years, more than an entire generation, behind us. Today we have a completely different structure of forces and different experiences.

Do you mean that a completely new era for Poland is commencing, asked a journalist.

I am very careful when using grand words like new era and new phase of historical development, M. Rakowski replied. Only time will tell whether it really is a new era, or just a quirk of history. Of course, it all depends on the forces taking part in the election. To this, one can add that the degree of the wisdom of Poles will decide. That is the decisive factor.

Roman Malinowski: We Will Consolidate the Position of Agriculture

Roman Malinowski [Sejm marshal and chairman of the United Peasant Party] and his wife Mirona cast their votes at the premises of constituency election commission No 145. Today's election, he said, are a step along the path of great qualitative changes which may be considered revolutionary but are being implemented progressively. What is happening right now is a transitional stage that joins our national traditions and aspirations with our common experience. After the election, the United Peasant Party will implement the program contained in its election declaration. We will see to it that the position of agriculture and the food economy is strengthened during the period of socioeconomic change, and we will aim to complete the reform not only of agriculture, but the entire national economy.

Jerzy Jozwiak: There Has Been a Struggle Between Programs and People

Jerzy Jozwiak [chairman of the Democratic Party] and his wife Irena cast their votes at the premises of the constituency election commission No 123.

This election campaign is completely different to previous ones, he said. This has been a struggle between programs and the people represented by them. The Democratic Party has presented a program, based on its congress resolution, of Poland's renewal in the political and economic spheres. I hope the electorate will make the right choice of candidates who guarantee the implementation of previously adopted programs, for these generally correspond to the decisions reached at the "roundtable."

Lech Walesa: I Am Keeping My Word...

Lech Walesa, accompanied by his wife Danuta and son Bogdan, voted at the premises of the constituency election commission No 169 in Gdansk.

Asked by a group of Polish and foreign journalists about his election options, he said: One must not conduct a campaign. Let us now vote quietly. Poland has embarked upon a development path, and we have to help it. Asked whether he had voted for candidates on the national list, he replied in brief: I am keeping my word....

Czeslaw Kiszczak: A Time for Implementation

General of Arms Czeslaw Kiszczak [minister of Internal Affairs] voted at the premises of constituency election commission No 111 in Warsaw shortly before 0800.

Asked by a Polish Press Agency journalist about the thoughts accompanying him in the election, he said: We voiced many lofty and necessary words during the "roundtable" preparatory talks and at the "roundtable" itself. We produced dozens of pages of paper. All these words are correct and necessary. Now it is time to implement them.

Stanislaw Ciosek: I Voted for National Accord

Shortly before casting his vote, Stanislaw Ciosek [Politburo member and chairman of the Patriotic Movement for National Accord] said: I voted for what my party and I struggled to achieve at the "roundtable"—national accord. I think this is one of the most important conditions for progress.

Janusz Reykowski: A High Degree of Democratism

I believe, said Janusz Reykowski [Politburo member], that this election is marked by a high degree of democratism because society has exerted an enormous amount of influence on the selection of candidates for the Sejm and Senate and on who out of these candidates will win his seat. That means that the deputies and senators chosen by us may consider themselves society's representatives. This gives them enormous responsibility, for those who end up in the Sejm and Senate will have real, not imagined, influence on what happens in Poland. In particular, they must realize that their mandates not only permit them, but commit them to action which is unpopular but nevertheless essential in order to heal the economy.

Alfred Miodowicz: Important Election for the Fate of the Country

Alfred Miodowicz [Politburo member and chairman of the National Trade Union Confederation] and his wife Aldona cast their votes at the premises of the constituency election commission No 111 in Warsaw.

This is the first election in which I am taking active part, because in previous ones all I did was vote, he told a POLISH PRESS AGENCY journalist. This election is very important for Poland. I do not want to say it is crucial, because it is the condition of the economy that is crucial for the country's future. Nevertheless the election is important because new people will probably enter the Sejm, and the Sejm will wake up from its sleep. It will no longer be a mailbox into which the government drops its ideas.

Aleksander Kwasniewski: Poland can afford modernity and normality

I think, said Aleksander Kwasniewski [minister for youth affairs], that the election is a historic event in our most recent history. We are taking part in it aware of the work in store for us and the difficulties we have to resolve. There are still many reasons to fear what tomorrow may bring, and many doubts as to the future development of events in the country.

I am convinced that we can only overcome all these dangers and difficulties together. I believe Poland can afford modernity and normality. However, instead of being guided by emotion, prejudice, and parochial interests. We must be guided by nationwide interests. We must not be afraid of the reforms. We must display not only maximum patience, but also courage.

Roundup of Poles Voting Abroad

AU0806105789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 June 89 pp 1, 6

[Report signed wl: "198 Polling Centers Abroad"]

[Text] Election day provided a good opportunity to bring to one's mind how numerous and omnipresent Poles are throughout the world. To enable those Poles who were out of the country to cast their vote, the state election commission organized 198 polling centers abroad, from Chicago to Tokyo. In Europe only Switzerland did not have a polling center. Its laws do not permit the holding of elections on its territory by other states. Everywhere else, votes were cast by Poles who felt themselves linked to Poland by their family descent or citizenship; by Poles who have only recently left Poland, and by those who have never been to Poland.

The number eligible to vote in the Soviet Union was 35,000, where 37 polling centers were organized. The largest one was in Moscow where 3,500 Poles, from various Polish institutions, students, and contract workers, voted.

In the United States, the three polling centers of Washington, New York, and Chicago exceeded all previous polling records. Over 17,000 people cast their vote. Zygmunt Broniarek, TRYBUNA LUDU correspondent, who voted in Washington, met an old man "who presented an old Polish consular passport in which was a photograph of him as a 10-year-old boy. The local election commission accepted the passport and the citizenship as valid".

In Paris, among the voters were clerics from the Polish Catholic mission, and also Kazimierz Brandys, Wojciech Pszoniak, and many other artists currently on tour there.

In Madrid, the number of people who actually voted by far exceeded the initial number of 130 Poles previously listed as temporarily residing in Spain. Among those voting were the artists from the Warsaw Chamber Opera currently on tour in Spain.

In Hungary, almost 10,000 Polish citizens who are there on various contracts voted in nine polling centers.

We contacted the Polish Embassy in Tripoli, Libya. Sunday is a normal workday here, we were told. Friday is a day off in Libya, as prescribed by the Islamic faith. Most of the Polish crews were thus only able to make it to the polling stations in the late afternoon. Seven thousand Poles who are currently on contract here from various Polish enterprises, voted in 16 polling centers. All the polling centers were sited along the coast of the Mediterranean, stretching over a distance of 1,700 km. There was also a polling station in far off Tobruk, 1,600 km away from Tripoli, but so close to the hearts of Poles. A Polish medical team and a construction team from the Naftobudowy enterprise work here. Five Polish clerics and the local bishop with the whole diocese helped in the preparations for the election campaign.

In Tokyo, apart from Polish diplomatic representatives or students, a group of Polish clerics engaged in missionary work here also voted. One of the missionaries, Professor Father Tadeusz Oblak, who has been in Japan for several dozen years, was also a member of the local election commission.

In the GDR, a several thousand strong contingent of Poles, mainly engaged in construction work, voted in Berlin and other polling centers in the country. Another contingent of similar size voted in the FRG and West Berlin.

The second largest group of Poles abroad, apart from the Soviet Union, consists of 25,000 people working on contract in Czechoslovakia. Apart from these voters, numerous parties of Polish tourists in transit through Czechoslovakia cast their votes in the two polling centers of Prague and Bratislava.

Among the voters in Yugoslavia was a group of over 100 workers on contract in the bauxite mine in Niksic, Montenegro.

In Bulgaria, 12 election commissions were set up. One of the first to cast his vote in Sofia was 67-year-old Seweryn Pachucki, who has lived in Bulgaria since the war. Bus transport to the polling stations was organized for the 4,000 strong contingent of employees who work here for various Polish enterprises. Similar assistance for voters was provided in the Soviet Union, FRG, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and in other countries.

In London, the number of people who voted was far in excess of the 150 people who had registered earlier. Among the voters were old emigrants and young people on temporary visas.

In Vienna, there was still a queue of several dozen people who had come from all over Austria, in the afternoon. Almost all had valid documents entitling them to vote.

In Stockholm, over 1,000 people had cast their their vote before noon. The awful weather, it rained the whole day, did not deter people from coming to the polling centers, reports a PAP correspondent.

Among the voters in Rome, the most numerous group consisted of Poles of the so-called recent emigration. Also notable were the large numbers of clerics, monks and nuns.

All places from which we have been able to receive information, report an atmosphere of responsibility and dignity on polling day. TRYBUNA LUDU and PAP correspondents, have reported that these elections aroused general worldwide interest. Friday's speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski was published by many foreign press agencies and journals.

Consultative Commission on Results

LD0806170389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] Not quite 3 hours ago a session started at the Sejm building of the consultative commission, which was appointed as a result of the roundtable deliberations. Matters stemming from the results of the first round of elections to the Sejm and the Senate are the subject of the session. Those taking part in the session include, among others, Czeslaw Kiszczak, Wladyslaw Baka, Ireneusz Sekula, Stanislaw Ciosek, Janusz Reykowski, Aleksander Kwasniewski, Jozef Oleksy and Lech Walesa, Bronislaw Geremek, Adam Michnik, Jacek Kuron and Jozef Slisz.

Before the session Czeslaw Kiszczak told journalists that during the deliberations the coalition side would present, among others, a proposal on filling the seats which were not filled as a result of the voting for the National List. In reply to the question of whether the composition of the government would be discussed Czeslaw Kiszczak recalled that first of all it is necessary to elect the Sejm which should consist of 460 deputies, the Senate, speakers and deputy speakers of both chambers. Then, at a joint session of the Sejm and Senate it is necessary to elect a president and it is only then that the president can put forward a candidate for the post of premier.

Replying in turn to questions from the journalists Lech Walesa said: We must establish above all where we are and draw conclusions from the situation that has come about.

Roundtable Committee Communique

AU0806230189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] The meeting of the "Roundtable" Consultative Commission, in progress since 1500, ended a few minutes past 2300. It was chaired by Czeslaw Kiszczak and Lech Walesa. A communique was adopted, saying that the meeting had discussed the course and outcome of the first round of the elections to the Sejm and Senate. The

communique also says that the "Solidarity"-opposition side reaffirmed its desire to adhere to the concluded accords and implement the decisions of the "roundtable," while respecting the law in force. The coalition-government side informed its intention of asking the State Council to create the legal possibility to hold an election for the 33 vacant Sejm seats during the second round on 18 June. The "Solidarity"-opposition side said that decisions concerning the filling of the vacant seats should be made by the new Sejm. It said at the same time that, understanding the seriousness of the situation which is posing the danger of a collapse of the accords and reform processes, it has decided not to object to the proposal presented by the coalition side. A similar stance was adopted by representatives of the OPZZ [National Trade Union Confederation].

Solidarity News Conference

LD0806203289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] [Announcer] As we said earlier, the state electoral commission has established the official results of voting in elections for the Sejm and Senate. A total of 163 deputies [announcer stumbles over the number "3," previous reports have said "165"] in districts, 92 senators and 2 deputies from the national list, have been elected. The second round of elections will be held on 18 June.

Janusz Reykowski said at a news conference that the results of the elections are a step forward for democracy. He said that political mechanisms have been set in motion which are introducing a multiparty system into our parliamentary practice. Regarding the stance of the Polish United Workers Party, this party will not at present try to settle scores but will strive for creative activity. Asked about the national list, Janusz Reykowski said it had been a mistake to put forward this list, a fact that had been criticized by members of the party during preelection meetings.

At the INTERPRESS press center, Solidarity Spokesman Janusz Onyszkiewicz met domestic and foreign journalists. Here is a brief report on this conference.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] What expectations do you have of today's deliberations by the consultative commission?

[Onyszkiewicz] I hope that today we will hear a political acceptance of the election results and the preservation of the roundtable. I also hope that today we will hear how the government coalition thinks that the problem of those seats still unfilled in the Sejm can be solved.

[Second unidentified speaker] Do you think that the reformers in the party ought to be supported by Solidarity or not?

[Onyszkiewicz] I do not know if party reformers would like Solidarity to support them in a very open manner. I fear that this might cause certain problems because a selection would have to be carried out. Solidarity would somehow have to decide itself who was a reformer and who was not. I think it is more important that as a result of the first round of the elections it can clearly be seen that the public is in favor of reforms. In view of this, almost as a result of this stance, the reformers in the party should feel strengthened in their political stance. In several districts Solidarity supported various candidates for party mandates or for SD [Democratic Party] or ZSL [United Peasant Party] mandates. But this was a local action and I think that this is how it will be in the second round of the elections, that this will be the result of some sort of local assessments and possibly discussions as to whether or not some of these candidates are supported by the local Solidarity electoral committee.

[Third unidentified speaker] What would be the political costs that Solidarity would bear if, for instance, it pretended that it could not see what seemingly might be legal and constitutional but which de facto might be a certain manipulative measure regarding the filling of these vacant seats by the government-coalition side? The thing is that in the past you have had problems among your own members regarding their acceptance of your participation in, and your reaching in specific conditions an agreement of the roundtable. [sentence as heard] Would there not be similar problems this time, too?

[Onyszkiewicz] Of course problems might surface because, as is well known, the appetite increases according to how much is eaten. Many of our supporters perhaps think that since this is the result of the elections then perhaps a little bit more might be gained. Perhaps more seats can be gained in the Sejm and that a few more steps forward can be made and that perhaps the pace can be quickened. However, if we are to remain credible when compared to our opponents on the other side of this roundtable—please forgive me this clumsy figure of speech—then quite simply we have to stick to these decisions. Maybe this will lay us open to certain accusations, to accusations of dragging our feet, to accusations of not exploiting certain opportunities. But that is life: facto sunt servanda [Latin for "facts are facts"]. [end recording]

Military Council Discussion

LD0806211189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] A National Defense Ministry Military Council session has taken place in which Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, head of the Armed Forces, took part. Also present was internal affairs Minister Gen Czeslaw Kiszczak. The council discussed matters connected with the participation of the military electorate in the first and second round of the election campaign to the Sejm and Senate and the armed forces' taks after the elections. It was stressed that service to the nation and ensuring the

security and peaceful development of the Polish People's Republic remain unswervingly the main task of the armed forces. At the same time they will actively implement reforms and democratic changes in social life. The head of the armed forces, speaking about the importance of the fundamental changes taking place in Poland, thanked the cadres—soldiers doing basic military service and army employees—for their conscientious and fruitful service and work. He expressed the profound conviction that the Polish Army will, as always unswervingly guard the homeland's borders, everyday life and the stability of the socialist state. Army Gen Florian Siwicki chaired the council session.

Geremek on Election Results

PM0806091089 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 7 Jun 89 p 9

[Interview with Solidarity adviser Bronislaw Geremek by Andrea Tarquini in Warsaw—date not given]

[Excerpt] Warsaw—[Passage omitted]

[Tarquini] Why negotiate with a Communist Party which has been defeated in the election?

[Geremek] I repeat that we must not overdramatize the significance of the party's defeat. It will still have 65 percent of the seats in parliament. The people have given Walesa and Solidarity a mandate for dialogue with the government—the roundtable's social contract made provision for that.

[Tarquini] Can the contract be honored following the triumph?

[Geremek] We think that agreements must be honored, we will remain faithful to that agreement. The problem is whether the elections will make it easier or more difficult to implement. Frankly, we are not sure that they will help implementation. There are at least two reasons for that. The first is the surprising number of abstentions. Why did around 9.5 million Poles not vote? We regarded a 20-percent abstention rate as normal, the other 20 percent or so indicates that the people who did not vote may be the section of our electorate who reject the path of compromise and dialogue. This is a crucially important question—a potential for explosion which maintains all its force.

[Tarquini] Will the communist collapse make dialogue easier or not?

[Geremek] The party's credibility has been undermined by the elections, its weakness is much more obvious than before. Its situation is a serious problem.

[Tarquini] Why do you think that victory is a problem?

[Geremek] Because, in the eyes of the country and the world the communist party now seems much weaker than we would have wished and than we thought when we signed the roundtable agreement. In the Senate, we may very probably have not only the majority for which we were aiming but all or almost all the seats. The upper house will therefore not be able to act as the forum for dialogue on national accord which we wanted for our country's good. [passage omitted]

Orzechowski Issues Statement

AU0906112789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Jun 89 p 3

[Text] PAP—Marian Orzechowski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary of the Polish United Workers Party, gave a statement to the third program of Polish Radio on 6 June on the subject of the Sunday elections. Here is the text:

I am speaking on my own behalf somewhat, and would like to stress that the election results will be known only after the State Election Commission has completed its work. However, one can already say that, first of all, the turnout was far lower than expected (all the surveys spoke of a 75-80 percent turnout, and even more), with only slightly more than 62 percent of those eligible to vote doing so. In some voivodships, the turnout was even lower. This happened despite the great, highly varied, and sometimes stormy propaganda campaign, the likes of which Poland has not experienced since 1947.

This is the main fact we have to consider—a fact that provides much food for thought. After all, it means that over one-third of our adult population seems to have lost interest in elections and has expressed, as it were, its mistrust of all the political forces standing for election. This should be carefully examined and conclusions drawn from it. I think that this part of the electorate, a very important part of it, will be the subject of a political struggle in the future.

The second matter to which one should draw attention is that, according to the information we have, the decisive majority of votes was for "Solidarity" candidates. However, not everything has been determined yet because some Senate seats and a considerable number of Sejm seats will be decided in a runoff election. However, what has been determined today and what we know unofficially, if only in part, possesses a clear significance that is hard to deny. The way I see things, Polish society is craving for very profound changes and reforms. By giving "Solidarity" and Walesa its vote of confidence, society expects "Solidarity" to be the very force that will promote and lead toward reforms.

However, the 62 percent of the voters who turned up at the polling stations should be interpreted as a confirmation of society's approval of the results of the "roundtable" and its whole philosophy, as well as a sign that the

voters are convinced that neither of the political forces can lead the country out of the crisis by itself, and that both of them have to complement each other to some extent and support each other in issues of key significance for the country.

In a nutshell, the election verdict tells us that all the political forces, in other words, my party and the other coalition parties and political groups, plus "Solidarity," must assume responsibility for Poland's future. I hope they will also assume responsibility for action so that Poland may have a better tomorrow. That is the only way to fulfill the electorate's expectations and to make sure that this activity toward a better future takes place under calm conditions that are characterized by a respect for the accords adopted at the "roundtable" by all sides.

The results we have are certainly bitter for my party and they must make my party think deeply, reflect, and draw all necessary conclusions, however deep and far-reaching they may be. I am positive that the party will draw these conclusions. The time for this will come after the second round of the elections.

Next, M. Orzechowski answered questions from reporters. In reply to a question about the grand coalition announced by General Jaruzelski, he said that there is not much he can add right now except that this is a possibility, and that when we speak of joint responsibility, we mean a coalition. However, one must realize that at least two sides are needed to form a coalition, and that first, both sides have to say that they want a coalition; second, they must agree to the conditions for forming this coalition; and third, they have to decide what form this coalition could take, because various forms of such a coalition have to be considered. They range from agreements and compromise inside parliament, right up to cooperation in executive power, in other words, government. However, this has to be discussed first. I am sure that all Poles, those who voted as well as the overwhelming majority of society would like to see a grand coalition become reality.

Assessing the results of the election, Orzechowski said that they came as a surprise to both sides. That is the impression provided by surveys, our own statements, and statements by leaders of the opposition. No one foresaw such a balance and structure of forces.

It is certain that both sides will examine and assess the election results carefully, M. Orzechowski said. Those who expected different results will want to know what went wrong, but I do not think this should lead to differences of opinion. Those who achieved better results than they expected will also draw various conclusions, and will even consider the results to be a triumph. I hope both sides will maintain extensive moderation. As far as our party is concerned, I hope it will draw the conclusions stemming from the 10th Plenum and recognize that it is necessary to implement those 10th Plenum decisions concerning the party more quickly and decisively, and that it will realize the seriousness of the situation. Quite simply, I hope the party will consolidate itself.

I think the election results were a surprise for many people because many thought they would be different.

Commentary Assesses 1st Round

AU0806133989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 June 89 p 1

[Zenon Kulej commentary: "After the First Round"]

[Text] The first round of the election is over. It was preceded by various hopes and much emotion. The end of the election campaign has brought certain words of relief, as well as a vision of further democratic changes. Last Friday, Wojciech Jaruzelski said: "I am appealing for a broad election coalition, a pact for economic reform, the enrichment of democracy, a strengthening of the state, and the development of Poland." The character of the elections was a fulfillment of the spirit and the letter of the "roundtable."

These elections were held on the party's initiative, a party renewing and reforming itself, a party which was seeking a way out of the current economic and social dilemmas, and which at the same time was trying to ensure domestic stability and social order. The "roundtable" was a victory for all those forces that participated. The elections are only one of the fruits of this victory. Entering the election campaign, the party realized full well that any result was possible, even one which could substantially limit its influence in the coming National Assembly. Thus, it was taking a conscious risk.

Without doubt, one positive feature is the fact that we began to seek solutions by way of negotiations, and not by street corner "discussions." The time to make a detailed analysis of the outcome is when we have the official results to hand. Nevertheless, there will undoubtedly have to be a second round for some constituencies on 18 June. What will the next 2 weeks bring? Will the aggressive nature of the election propaganda abate?

Regardless of Sunday's results, it is impossible not to pass comment on those aspects of the campaign which turned the elections into a plebiscite, created a polarization into two camps, for and against, and rejected programatic discussion in favor of presenting a picture of a divided society.

The parties which make up the coalition entered this election campaign with a legacy of successes and setbacks during the last 45 years. They were also handicapped by the present-day burdens of inflation, market difficulties, economic reform necessity, and the threat that all this could not be achieved without social sacrifices. The awareness of all this put them in a less favorable situation right from the start of the campaign.

In spite of these drawbacks, the government-coalition side reached for the most democratic means of promoting its candidates. One could say that in those circumstances it becomes easier to split the vote. This is absolutely correct. Nevertheless, this way of campaigning, diametrically different from that of the opposition, contained a hidden strategy. From the numerous group of candidates for the Sejm and Senate, including those that were defeated, there will undoubtedly emerge a new generation of politicians and aktivists at central and local level. Such an injection of new blood is always beneficial, especially today when the forms and substance of political action are changing. This democratic experience will pay great dividends in the future, even if it does not bring immediate benefits.

During the course of the election we witnessed many forms of pre-election campaigning. The most astonishing was the opposition propaganda, attacking coalition candidates, especially those on the national list. Why astonishing? Because the national list was part and parcel of the agreements of the "roundtable". The uncompromising calls to boycott candidates from the center as well as others who were not promoted by "Solidarity", created a negative atmosphere around these candidates. This atmosphere persisted in spite of last minute attempts to ameliorate the situation, which personally undermined the position of this group of "roundtable" initiators. First estimates from the constituencies seem to confirm the propaganda effectiveness of this drastic course of action. Are we supposed to applaud this effectiveness? Another surprise is the low turnout. This will provide food for thought not only for the coalition side. In spite of the democratization of the elections, in spite of opposition participation, the turnout was comparable to the turnout for the last national councils elections, which was criticized as low by the opposition. A 40 percent abstention was not envisaged by any pre-election projections. One assumes that the people who voted had clear cut views, and compared to the situation of 4 years ago a certain "exchange of electorate" has taken place. A large part of the electorate did not make their opinion known. The result of these elections will thus only be the opinion of the majority who bothered to vote.

Mere slogans and democratizational changes will not be sufficient. People must perceive that economic realities have to underpin all changes. The question is how to arrange political combinations which would be capable of giving the economy impetus toward progress. This is the reason why we are talking about a broad pro-reform coalition. It is for this reason the "roundtable" was called.

The next few months will show whether we are capable of forming a national alliance for progress and toward a better tomorrow, the road to which is still strewn with many difficulties. What is needed is a lasting alliance of forces, which will reflect the political differentiation of Polish society, and not just a division into "us" and "them."

Comments on Walesa's Political Thinking

AU0806174889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Jun 89 p 2

[Marek Jaworski commentary: "Lech Walesa Speaks: Worries and Pledges"]

[Text] I have read Lech Walesa's latest speeches and interviews with interest. They all illustrate a single banal truth, namely, that political intelligence is not a gift from above, but something for which one has to work hard to develop.

This opinion is confirmed by the extensive interview given by Walesa to the first issue of the resurrected SOLIDARITY weekly. The union leader appears no longer as a master of stirring slogans, playing on the emotions of his audience, but as a man with experience, conscious of present sociopolitical conditions and of the tasks that face him. He sees his union as "less of a political organization and more of a trade union organization" in the future.

He says: "We are present in factories, not in order to conduct politics, but to settle down-to-earth matters. Obviously we must defend people, guard their interests, and see to it that work is easier and more dignified. Work safety and hygiene, labor law, housing—these are spheres with which the union has had little involvement so far, and it is high time to be involved in earnest. One must also acquaint oneself thoroughly with factories, because he who wants to manage jointly has to know, where, how, and why things operate."

Walesa does not hide the union's internal weaknesses. He talks about a lack of experienced activists in the field, capable of working on a broader regional scale. He mentions the miserable influx of scientific cadres "because cadres and workers have always had opposite interests, and the August 1980 alliance turned out to be temporary." He even talks about the serious political divisions inside "Solidarity." Naturally, he is optimistic about overcoming these difficulties.

He is less convincing when he explains his authoritarian methods of ruling the union. "Can one steer a ship through stormy seas in a democratic way?" he asks. "Of course I expect a certain amount of respect and trust from people." The question arises whether such methods, having little to do with democracy, will become permanent if the union chairman's personality is supposed to be the strongest, if not the only symbol of the union's identity. "As far as the trade union is concerned, we cannot expect it to possess a single identity in the future. 'Solidarity' contains many groups with quite contrasting ideologies that are frequently as compatible as fire and water," says Walesa. Later on, affirming that "Solidarity" possesses no "pure ideal," he says: "There will be no pure ideal. We must finally realize that if the union is open to everyone, which is what we want, and if

it accepts Catholics, left-wingers, and right-wingers, then it cannot have a single profile, for it is neither communist, nor Christian, nor social-democratic."

Walesa warns society about the road which he calls the "death spiral"—"a road of growing claims and strike conflicts." He says: "I want to help first of all, and make demands later." Later on he assures his readers that he always keeps his word. It will be very important for him to keep that promise, too.

Orzechowski Views Future Role of PZPR

PM0906084089 Katowice DZIENNIK ZACHODNI in Polish 4 May 89 p 3

[Interview with Prof Marian Orzechowski, Polish United Workers Party (PZPR) Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, by Maciej Karski; date, place not given]

[Text] [Karski] Professor, is the party today still "the same yet no longer the same," as it was when this phrase was first coined?

[Orzechowski] At that time, soon after the imposition of martial law, the phrase expressed more of a recommendation, following an assessment of the party's experience between August 1980 and December 1981 and of the new circumstances in which it operated after 13 December 1981. Today it is becoming increasingly clear that that farsighted and bold vision is being transformed into reality.

I believe that, in particular, the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, which cleared the way for a thorough reform within the party, as well as everything that took place subsequently—especially the roundtable debate—made us realize the extent to which the party has become—or, more precisely, is in the process of becoming—"no longer the same." This change is marked, among other things, by novel decisions concerning the party's ideological and political identity; the definition of its class nature and its social infrastructure; its place and role in the political system; the climate and the principles of internal party life; its structure; the forms and methods of its operation; and, finally, its relations with its allies.

At the same time we are and will remain the same party, that is, a party whose goal is socialism—but a modern, democratic, rational socialism that embraces humanist ideals. A system whose essence is defined by the following qualifications: material well-being, social justice, democracy, and a wealth of spiritual values.

[Karski] Despite these positive transformations in the party, a considerable proportion of its members are suffering from a sense of despondency. Does this not threaten a split in the party or at least a significant loss of membership?

[Orzechowski] I would not be so hasty in my judgments as to maintain categorically that a considerable proportion of party members are suffering from a sense of despondency. After all, people's moods and feelings change continuously. For example, even as recently as last March they were very different from what they are now. The situation in the party is much more complex. At present, fortunately, there is no real danger of a split within the party itself. And I should say those of us in the party leadership have quite a good appreciation of the situation. All party members must surely realize that it would be a very grave shock not only for the party but for the state system and, consequently, for Poland as a whole, for the working class, and for all working people in general.

[Karski] We know that the 10th Plenum resolutions, and in particular the Central Committee stand on the question of political and trade union pluralism, were passed with only a majority of votes. Does this fact not seem ominous for party unity?

[Orzechowski] I agree with the view that after the 10th Plenum the party as a whole did not experience a major political or psychological breakthrough. Many party members are still not fully aware of the importance and significance of the transformations taking place, nor the meaning of all threats and danger areas, including the major trial of the approaching Sejm and Senate elections. But the signs pointing to such a breakthrough taking place are now appearing at a fast rate.

We will no doubt get a confirmation of this during the second national Delegates Conference, as proved by the results of the preconference debate conducted at 15 regional meetings. I am convinced that the period of election battles will serve to consolidate the party, lend it new vigor, and render it more combative. If, however, things turn out differently, we will once again have to ask ourselves the question: "Where does the party go now?"

[Karski] We have seen the emergence of a number of centers of left-wing thought in Poland recently. There are the clubs, with Krakow's "Kuznica" in the lead; there are many groups calling themselves "young communists," "new left," and so on; and there is the "Progress and Democracy" association. Will the party aim to extend "ideological tutelage" to these centers?

[Orzechowski] I would like to see my party as a strong and united, definitive center that will attract and draw toward itself all Polish left-wing orientations and all forces fostering social progress and democracy. But what is the meaning of the phrase "Polish left-wing orientation" at a time when the traditional divisions into left, center, and right are not always reflected in our sociopolitical reality and cease to function as taxonomic categories?

[Karski] Precisely. Is it possible to formulate an unequivocal definition of left-wing orientation today?

[Orzechowski] Given the above reservation, I should say that to me left-wing orientation represents a certain intellectual outlook, a way of regarding Poland, its present, its future, and its role in Europe and the world. It is characterized by a well defined system of ideological and political values and the resultant goals and objectives, whose practical target is a transformation of our social reality. Among these values and objectives I would particularly stress not only humanism, social progress, democracy, and social justice, but also rationalism, tolerance, moral compatibility of the ends and the means, the need to subordinate politics to moral evaluations and judgments, and so on.

But left-wing orientation implies also—perhaps even chiefly—a political formation whose aim is to actively promote and further its adopted values and objectives. Such a formation has no sharply defined limits, especially when it becomes necessary to review the notion of left-wing orientation understood solely as a radical approach to socioeconomic and political goals and methods.

[Karski] Given this vague political delineation, is there common ground on which such ideologically opposed formations as the "Kuznica" and "Progress and Democracy" associations could meet?

[Orzechowski] In today's specific circumstances, our left-wing orientation is united—over and above the differences that divide it internally—by its striving to lead Poland out of the crisis and to resolve the present problems besetting our nation by means of profound political and economic reforms which would map out our way toward modern socialism.

[Karski] Recently we have often heard the view expressed that the PZPR must adopt a truly new style as a party. What does this mean in practical terms?

[Orzechowski] It simply means that a Marxist-Leninist party operating under conditions of parliamentary democracy, with the citizens fully and actively involved in public life and with a planned market economy, must necessarily differ from a party that was established in a completely different period of history. To define it in most general terms, we must now irrevocably reject the old, worn-out dogmas claiming that the party is omnipotent, omnipresent, and infallible, and that it has unrestricted freedom of action. Today these dogmas are merely expressions of arrogance and lack of respect for all other participants in political life. The party must make itself fully subordinate to the rules of political interplay which are formulated on its initiative and with its active participation. And within the framework of these rules it must consistently try to win social support for the implementation of its ideological and political goals expressed in its program. I am convinced that all this can vastly enhance the effectiveness of the party's campaigns.

[Karski] What methods will the party use to secure a leading role in the parliament and in people's councils if there is active political opposition in these bodies?

[Orzechowski] Parliamentary methods! Parliamentary methods mean political alliances, dialogue, agreement, and compromise. I exclude the possibility of any other methods because they would be both ineffective and dangerous, mainly for the party itself.

No party operating in a system of parliamentary democracy can place itself above the state, its institutions and organs, its laws, its parliament, or its government. The party should aim to realize its objectives by means of political methods applied by its best people, whom it would first recommend for the given position and then regularly monitor and hold to account in a democratic procedure designed to ensure that their mandates are carried out in accordance with the party's strategy and policy.

[Karski] Is the practice of the same persons combining party, state, and administrative functions compatible with the Leninist party model? Will it be continued in Poland?

[Orzechowski] I would not compare it against the Leninist party model but rather fit it into the realities, requirements, and conditions of today's and tomorrow's life. In other words, the fact that something has been, or still is, compatible with the Leninist party model—that is, a model shaped by history, not an abstract, timeless ideal—does not necessarily mean that it is proper and correct for today and tomorrow.

The practice of holding combined functions must be viewed in a predominantly pragmatic rather than doctrinal light. At times it was the consequence of a disastrous shortage of appropriately trained personnel. That was the situation, which must now be judged as a necessary evil, after the 1917 October Revolution and in certain people's democracies in the first years of their existence. Later, as a rule, it was the consequence of the centralized and bureaucratic power system, with its typical lack of a clear distribution of authority and responsibility and the progressive fusion between party and state. We firmly reject this practice.

Moreover, the practice of holding combined functions—especially when it involves work-intensive positions of authority and accountability—is also a violation of the principle of rational division of labor. It blocks free access to many positions, interferes with normal personnel flow—or, if you prefer, circulation of elite cadres—and, above all, gives rise to autocracy. This is why, ever since the Extraordinary Ninth Plenum, the PZPR has been in favor of applying the co .non sense principle to the whole problem and determining clear and intelligible rules which would reduce to a necessary minimum—

necessary for the proper functioning of the state and party apparatus—the practice of holding combined party, administrative, and state functions.

[Karski] Thank you for the interview.

Second Professor Comments

PM0806143689 Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 4 May 89 p 3

[Interview with Prof Artur Bodnar, director of Warsaw University Institute of Political Sciences and government adviser during the recent roundtable talks, by INTERPRESS correspondent Teresa Kwasniewska; date, place not given]

[Text] [Kwasniewska] Professor, these days we often hear the question asked whether what we witnessed during the roundtable talks, for instance, was an offensive or, rather, a defensive maneuver by the party. Was it evidence of the party's giving in to overwhelming social pressure?

[Bodnar] In my interpretation the party is on the offensive. After 40 years in power it has become aware that new generations have emerged—generations which cultivate democratic aspirations. This awareness allows the party to make radical changes in its program and methods of operation and at the same time forces it to make these changes. After all, it was possible to convene the roundtable because the party has since 1981 formulated and promoted the line of national accord and consistently introduced economic and state administrative reforms—all this on the basis of listening closely to the views and opinions of the population.

Sociological research conducted in the eighties revealed that one in five adult citizens supports both the party and the opposition. However, the majority of respondents asserted that the opposition had no program of its own. Asked whether opposition is necessary in the first place, they answered in the affirmative. We must therefore conclude that society wants the authorities in power to operate under public control, regardless of who is to exert this control. Such demands from the public must be taken seriously by whoever is in power. This is best attested to by the agreements reached in the roundtable debate as well as the approaching Sejm and Senate elections.

[Kwasniewska] The party is finding it difficult to enter the role of partner. Although the past 40 years, during which it wielded exclusive power—even though the most recent decade has seen a degree of democratization—are already past history, nevertheless all those years have contributed to shaping a certain way of thinking, along with certain political rules and mechanisms, routine responses, and so on... It takes a long, long time to change established attitudes and ways of thinking. And the reforms cannot wait...

[Bodnar] A change of the established way of thinking on a national scale is certainly a long and slow process. Everything must now happen at an accelerated rate, but it will still be happening in stages. We often hear people complaining that our earlier reforms amounted only to half-measures and were not implemented with sufficient consistency. But we must remember that we are all learning that lesson together. The catchwords of the whole decade of the eighties have been the reform, the implementation of the reform, and the struggle against a whole range of difficulties with the implementation of the reform. As a result today we have in Poland an expert cadre which has received elementary training in taking a new look at our public and economic conditions with an aim of finding new and different mechanisms with which to regulate our life. Without this we would be only just setting off at the beginning of this path. A considerable proportion of party members have already gained the necessary experience, especially as some half of its 2-million-strong membership hold managerial positions in public, political, and economic sectors. In the second place, their experience helped them to overcome their fear of change. Finally, they are aware that there is no alternative to profound reform.

[Kwasniewska] But already the 10th plenum made us realize that a Central Committee secretary was far more likely to vote for pluralism than, say, a voivodship committee or enterprise committee secretary.

[Bodnar] All the same, I believe that there is still more agreement than discord when it comes to opinions on democratization of public life and granting the individual a more autonomous status. But let us again quote the results of research conducted among party activists. These demonstrate that over 20 percent of party activists are resolute reformers; a corresponding number are opposed to reforms and would prefer to see the old setups and the established order preserved; finally, some 60 percent represent a central position which accepts the reform but insists that it must be implemented with caution, at minimum expense, and over a long period. This is a perfectly normal alignment of forces. This is why I believe that the potential for reform within the party is sufficiently high, though it can be restricted by a sense of responsibility for stabilization in everyday life and the need to minimize all the attendant risks. Thus we have two different tendencies within the party. Until recently the latter was the dominant force. It was only the roundtable debate and the public support it received that contributed to a radicalization of opinion in the party in the direction of the proreform tendency. I hope that the PZPR National Delegates Conference gives appropriate expression to this tendency.

[Kwasniewska] Is there no danger that the newly disclosed internal party opposition will cause a lasting division within the party and act as a destructive force?

[Bodnar] So far there are no clearly defined tendencies pointing in that direction. It was thought that the party's older generation would vigorously resist the idea of

legalizing the opposition. However, it remained politically calm throughout the legalization process. But this does not mean that there is no dissent or expression of opposing views within the party. The party must provide a platform for an open confrontation of many different views and opinions. This was given practical expression during the debates of the 10th plenum. The party is eliminating the last remaining vestiges of Stalinism from its model. In this matter the National Delegates Conference will also take an unequivocal stand.

And the question of what tomorrow will bring? We do not know. To a large extent it will depend on how the election campaign goes; on the inevitable shocks we will have to withstand in the course of the equally inevitable political battles which will precede the elections; on the extent to which the opposition will remain loyal toward the state; and finally, on the dilemmas which we will have to face in the autumn while attempting to solve a large number of economic and social problems.

[Kwasniewska] So how do you envisage the party's leading role in Poland's new political landscape?

[Bodnar] In its preelection declaration, the opposition insists that it is high time to put an end to the party's leading role. This could be seen as a typical preelection slogan. However, history teaches us that in Sweden, for example, social democracy has been in power for 40 years and has in effect played the leading role in the state without ever defining it as such. The PZPR has been, and still is, in a similar situation. The PZPR of yesterday has gradually changed to become the PZPR of today. The party has by now relinquished its claim to administer and govern. It should confine itself to being simply a party and to competing for influence in the state's democratic institutions, the Sejm and the Senate, people's councils, various associations, and so on. This itself is a difficult task. It is, after all, much easier to rule by directives. Nevertheless the party is staging a sort of "farewell to arms" by this departure from administrative methods of fulfilling its political task in society.

[Kwasniewska] The party will no longer command the majority of seats in the Sejm.

[Bodnar] Consequently if it wants to be able to influence public life it will have to rule in coalition with the other forces. But the coalition must not be nominal, as before: It will have to be a coalition of partners. Therefore the party will have to take care to "synchronize" its views on a variety of issues with its allies and achieve compromise with various groups belonging to the opposition.

[Text] In the second place, as the numerically largest party, commanding a membership of some 2 million and a most highly organized social force with a highly-qualified cadre and the finest intellectual potential (half of the country's intelligentsia belongto the party), the PZPR has every opportunity to play a vitally important, often decisive, role in the decisionmaking processes in the state. But it must learn to talk to the people in a language free from dogma and doctrine, a language much closer to the realities of life.

[Kwasniewska] To put it in concrete terms, what should the party be like?

[Bodnar] It must have a socially approved program, represent the interests of all working people, preserve a united front on all fundamental issues, cultivate internal democracy, and be effective in its performance.

[Kwasniewska] What is the philosophical foundation stone of this program?

[Bodnar] The party is the social force which has put the word "socialism" on its banners. It is entitled to claim to be the party of Polish radical socialists.

[Kwasniewska] You say that the party cultivates its own clear vision of socialism. But today there is much discussion of the question of "auctioning socialism off" and the question is even being asked whether we want socialism at all.

[Bodnar] If we take a close look at striking workers' demands, we will find in them such underlying values as social justice, equality, assurance of social welfare provisions, true social ownership, and so on. This represents exactly the system of socialist values which is the dominant feature of the social awareness of our population. Therefore every social force in Poland—both the real thing and its "coffee house" equivalent—must take into account the fact that society wants an implementation of the ideals of socialism, even though various groups within it (such as young people) may interpret it in different ways. This is why today the party's answer to the question: "Do we want socialism?" is: "Yes." And its answer to the question: "What kind of socialism?" is: "Modern, rational, designed for the people. A system whose essence can be contained in these three claims: material prosperity, social justice, and democracy."

Staniszewski Discusses Relations With GDR

AU0806154989 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 5 Jun 89 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Stefan Staniszewski, foreign ministry press spokesman, by Zbigniew Ramotowski: "More Bridges Across the Oder River"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Ramotowski] Intensive and promising, but difficult. That is how one can describe Poland's current relations with a series of major Western countries. It transpires that our relations with our allies and friends, even our closest neighbors, can also be difficult and full of conflicts. The closer a country, the worse our relations with it. Is that so?

[Staniszewski] Not at all. That would be an exaggeration. It is true that conflicts between interests have occurred among the socialist countries. Also true is the fact that the process of change has adopted a different pace in each country, therefore each country also approaches the solution of its problems differently. However, I see no reason to despair.

On the contrary, it is these changes and their effects on mutual relations that are enabling the countries to establish partnership based on mutually advantageous cooperation, taking into account the interests of all sides. There have always been clashes of interests, but news of them was always suppressed by political and administrative means, as a result of which public opinion never found out about them. Today we are dispensing with that practice. We call problems by their real names, and attempt to settle differences and disputes the way it should be done in international relations—by making mutual concessions and recognizing different interests.

[Ramotowski] That sounds wonderful, but the reality is more complicated. Let us take as an example the problem that disturbed Polish-GDR relations until recently.

[Staniszewski] You are right. This problem existed for a very long time. However, it is the end result that counts, the effort of experts and diplomats from both countries, as a result of which supreme joint interests triumphed. The Polish-GDR treaty on a demarcation of the waters in Pomeranian Bay is an excellent example of how difficult problems between socialist countries may and should be solved. On the basis of a compromise that takes both countries interests into account, a permanent and clear demarcation between Poland and the GDR of territorial waters, the continental shelf, and fishing grounds was adopted. There is nothing that could sow the seeds of future disputes. The Polish ports of Szczecin and Swinoujscie continue to have full, direct access to the open sea, just like before.

[Ramotowski] You mentioned supreme joint interests which triumphed. What are they?

[Staniszewski] Poland and the GDR are joined by the common objective of building a type of socialism capable of rapid development, whereby each country naturally heads toward this objective at its own pace, according to its own national characteristics. However, we are joined to the GDR by even more—an alliance and communion of general interests that possess a European dimension. Our relations are a major component of the European balance of forces, and an important precondition for the preservation of the political-territorial order in Europe. Despite the various changes on both sides of the Oder River and on an international level, one thing remains unchanged: the Polish raison d'etat is inseperably connected with a strong, stable, and socialist GDR.

[Ramotowski] But what advantages of these relations does the ordinary citizen feel?

[Staniszewski] It would be bad if the purpose of our alliance and cooperation were limited to strategy. Fortunately, that is not the case. Our trade and economic relations are dynamic, which shows that we are attractive and necessary partners for one another. The employment of Polish workers in the GDR has been a major factor of Poland's trade balance and balance of payments with the GDR for years. Polish construction enterprises have sent 26,000 workers to the GDR. About 6,000 Poles are employed by GDR enterprises, half of whom cross the border to reach their workplace.

The economic changes in Poland are presenting further possibilities of cooperation. I have in mind more effective forms of economic and scientific cooperation, including joint ventures. Our talks with GDR partners so far give grounds for optimism.

[Ramotowski] But the average Polish and GDR citizen still does not feel these intensified contacts as much as politicians do.

[Staniszewski] I agree. As far as social contacts are concerned, major reservations still exist. Although exchanges between young people and associations have assumed mass proportions, reaching a figure of 400,000 participants a year, in other spheres the situation is far from satisfactory. This applies especially to tourist traffic. We expect individual and organized tourism to expand, so that eventually it reaches a level commensurate with social expectations.

Problems of environmental protection are also attracting the interest of both societies and are creating the need for closer cooperation. The Polish-GDR-CSSR talks on environmental protection, which were our idea, are in the final stage. If a final agreement is reached, no country will be permitted to build new plants in border areas without prior agreement on ecological matters with the other countries.

One could indicate other spheres in which the situation is still not good, or has not been good but is now improving. One example is the superficial way in which each country's media present the other country. Although we ourselves are not perfect in this sphere, I believe that information and publicity about Poland in the GDR is far worse than the corresponding information about the GDR in Poland. Such information enables us to acquaint ourselves with this country's problems. However, there has been an increase in information about Poland in the GDR recently, and there seems to be a tendency toward deeper, even critical-minded, analyses of our problems. Therefore there is reason to be optimistic.

In a nutshell, I think both countries are becoming convinced of the need for more bridges across the Oder River, so that closer economic, cultural, and social contacts are possible. The chances for this exist. There are also joint, tangible interests that speak in favor of it.

NATO Summit 'Compromise Solution' Scrutinized

AU0806130489 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 6 Jun 89 p 4

[Romulus Caplescu article "After the NATO Summit—Limits and Implications of a 'Compromise Solution'"]

[Text] Being an opportunity to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the founding of NATO, the summit of this organization, which was held recently in Brussels, was marked throughout the preparatory period by controversial projects to modernize (tactical) short-range missiles, which were at the root of the uncertainty that prevailed until the summit opened.

Under pressure from West German public opinion, the FRG Government maintained its position to the last minute opposing these projects or, in any case, opting for their postponement until 1992, so that negotiations could be initiated with the Warsaw Pact countries as soon as possible to reduce the missiles in place to lowest levels on a equal basis; and it was also up until the last minute that U.S. officials flatly refused to accept the principle of any negotiations designed to pave the way to European denuclearization ("a great error," as the White House spokesman said). Washington's viewpoint was supported especially by Great Britain and France, while Bonn's viewpoint was supported by the majority of the other members of the Atlantic alliance. Given this situation, "to rescue what is still left of the cohesion and coherence of the alliance" (le QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS), the United States resorted to what some observers described as "a compromise solution" that was eventually agreed upon by all the members of the alliance, including the FRG.

As a matter of fact, by trying to play down the extent of the controversy over tactical nuclear missiles and even push them to a secondary level, the compromise solution was included as a simple and more or less secondary chapter into the "global concept of arms control and disarmament" that was adopted by the summit, together with a "political declaration" on the basis of a four-point plan presented by President George Bush. This plan mainly deals with conventional weapons and proposes the establishment of equal ceilings within the two political-military alliances in Europe—NATO and the Warsaw Pact—regarding the main categories of ground forces (20,000 tanks, 28,000 armored troop carriers, and 16,500 heavy artillery pieces), and regarding fighter planes and fighter and transportation helicopters (the ceiling of which—for both sides—should be 15 percent lower than the current ceiling of the NATO forces); at the same time, the number of ground and air forces of the two sides, deployed outside the national territory, should be reduced to approximately 275,000 troops (this would mean a reduction of 30,000 men of the total U.S. troops currently deployed in Europe); finally, the pace of the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of conventional forces in Europe should be accelerated to conclude them within 6-12 months, while the decisions adopted should be gradually applied by 1992-93.

It is in this stage (and not immediately, as the FRG suggested initially), that the problem of tactical nuclear weapons can be taken into consideration and that negotiations can be initiated on their "partial" reduction, as was precisely specified in the "global concept," a document that represents the Atlantic strategy for the next 10 years. In other words, this concept rules out the principle of removing tactical nuclear weapons from Europe, a principle supported by realistic political forces of the continent and which is in the vital interests of the European peoples. The "global concept" specifies in very clear terms that the Atlantic alliance will continue to be based "in the foreseeable future" on a deterrence force that will combine "nuclear forces with conventional ones," and categorically adds that "the withdrawal of all nuclear forces from Europe (the triple zero option) would harm the strategy of deterrence and would compromise the security of the alliance."

Under these circumstances, the achieved "compromise" is considered as a serious moving back from the viewpoints that the FRG had advocated before. Actually, the compromise means that the United States decided to postpone the modernization of "Lance" type nuclear missiles, while in return, the FRG by giving up—or being forced to give up—its own positions, has accepted the postponement of negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons until an accord is reached on conventional weapons.

According to many observers, in practice this means that, in this way, the emphasis is being shifted from nuclear weapons—the most destabilizing means of fighting—to conventional forces (LE FIGARO was noting that this means simply to "evade" the issue of short-range nuclear missiles), while the two sides of the issue have been linked in the same common "package". However, the principle of the common "package" has often proved to have negative effects and, in the past, even NATO spoke out against it. It is well known that the NATO countries protested against connecting space weapons, strategic nuclear weapons, and the intermediate range weapons in a single package and precisely the "opening" of this package has made possible the reaching of an agreement on the elimination of the latter ones. Certainly, the NATO proposals on the reduction of conventional weapons have their own importance. It is known that, in turn, the Warsaw Pact has advanced a series of concrete proposals in this direction. Apart from some inevitable differences regarding control figures and planned schedules, both sets of proposals make a good starting point and it is desired and necessary that, while approaching these subjects at the negotiation table in a spirit of mutual responsibility and goodwill, the sides should reach joint conclusions in a reasonable period.

However, experience has shown that the process of negotiations is not always a smooth one and difficulties and controversial aspects may arise, which take time and

effort to resolve. It is known for example that the calculation methodology of the two alliances regarding various components of conventional forces is different; on the other hand, only the American troops have been taken into consideration in the proposed troops reduction and nothing has been said about the English and French troops stationed in the FRG, which make up a considerable force of 100,000 people—this being only two of the many thorny issues that might crop up. As a matter of fact, the Atlantic circles themselves have declared that they will not be able to present a detailed form of the new proposals drafted by the NATO summit before the beginning of this fall, that is, only during the second stage of the Vienna talks.

There are many reasons that caused the leaders of the FRG opposition parties—such as the social democratic and the ecological parties—to criticize the "easiness" with which the Bonn government gave in to the pressure of its allies in not excluding the possibility of failing to conclude the talks on conventional weapons by 1992, when NATO will decide on the modernization of missiles deployed on West German territory. Thus, we are faced with the deeply concerning prospect that, instead of the partial reduction of the "Lance" missiles deployed in the FRG, they will be replaced with a new, more sophisticated version, which would stimulate a new stage of the arms race. Such prospects are rightfully rejected by the West German and West European public opinion in general. Voicing the opinion of this spirit, the former West German Cancellor Helmut Schmidt said that the United States "should deploy nuclear weapons on its own territory if it does not want to give them up" and that in any case, "Europeans want the weapons to be reduced and ultimately completely withdrawn from the European continent." The issue of short-range nuclear forces remains a thorny subject. "These weapons are unpopular in Western Europe"—writes the NEW YORK TIMES in its commentary about the reactions to the compromise that has been reached—while in light of these indisputable realities the BALTIMORE SUN notes that "not all disagreements within NATO have been solved" through this compromise.

There is another aspect: The "political declaration" mentions the need to intensify efforts to "overcome the division of Europe." Apart from reference to the possibility of broader cooperation to protect the environment, nothing specific is actually said about how such a goal could be achieved. First, not a single word is said about the desire to simultaneously dissolve the two military-political alliances and about the elimination of their military organizations as a first step, as reaffirmed in the recent appeal of the Warsaw Pact member countries to the NATO states. Second, the documents adopted in Brussels place stress on "further strengthening the Atlantic alliance and its military potential," including preserving the discredited nuclear strategy. However, the entire post-war experience demonstrates the harmful nature and the lack of prospects of such a way of thinking.

The European peoples and all peoples do not need the perpetuation of doctrines subject to the old policy, but instead they need genuine and undelayed measures for disarmament that is, measures which should simultaneously concern all fighting forces, primarily nuclear ones, to avert the danger of a devastating conflict and to pave the way for broad cooperation, without any obstacles or economic, scientific-technical, ecological, humanitarian or other discrimination on the basis of strict observance of the states' sovereignty and of rejecting any kind of interference in domestic affairs. This is the only course—for which socialist Romania has constantly struggled and continues to struggle—that really serves the interests of peace and stability on our continent and throughout the world.

Loncar Regrets 'Tragic Massacres' in China

AU0806143989 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] At a session of the SFRY Assembly Foreign Policy Committee today, Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar spoke about the situation in China, the position of our country in the international community, and the visit of the European Parliament delegation to our country. Matej Surc reports from the SFRY Assembly:

At the session of the Foreign Policy Committee of the Federal Chamber today, Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, spoke about the preparations for the ninth conference of the heads of states and governments of the nonaligned countries in Belgrade in September only as the last point of his report on current international situation and Yugoslavia's foreign political activities. At the request of those taking part in the session he also briefly mentioned the recent visit by European parliamentarians in our country and expressed his fear that this problem will again cause different interpretations in several republics. He also added that this problem should be dealt with by the Federal Executive Council.

Our foreign minister paid most attention to the latest tragic events in China. The situation in that country is still very grave and the development of the events is quite unpredictable. Therefore, it is practically impossible to make any final assessments now, Budimir Loncar said. He regretted the tragic massacres in which about 10,000 chiefly innocent people have perished.

He also stressed that the rebellious Chinese intelligentsia did not pose any ideological demands, but the students clearly demanded participation, the abolition of bureaucracy, and the abolition of privileges. It is precisely nepotism that irritates the progressive Chinese public, for Deng Xiaoping's son alone raked in tremendous wealth, Loncar said.

He warned that China—Loncar mentioned only the processes that could follow a possible (?prevalence) of the reform current—has certainly lost a great deal through such acts. Economic relations particularly with Japan have been paralyzed. At the same time China has lost its great prestige in the international community; precisely because of its opening to the world, China had constituted a significant factor of stability and democracy.

Budimir Loncar then listed reaction by the big powers and the European communities, mentioned that the USSR is behaving in a rather restrained way regarding the China problem, expressed sympathy for the suffering Chinese people, and passed on to the next point of his report the reform processes in East European socialist countries with a stress on the Soviet Union.

TANJUG Reports Beijing Situation

LD0806164589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1514 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, June 8 (TANJUG)—The situation in China is marked by great uncertainty and tension, but also signs of calming down and apparent lessening of tension, Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar said today.

Addressing the Yugoslav Assembly's Foreign Policy Committee, Loncar said that no matter which developmental concept prevailed in China, the events there would inevitably have a bearing on overall international relations, as the globe's most populous country was one of the key factors in the world trends.

Given that the flow of information from Beijing has been hampered by many enforced circumstances, there is no certain information about the number of dead there, but there are indications which point to a figure in excess of ten thousand. There are also signs of clashes having taken place between various units of the Chinese Army, Loncar said.

The Yugoslav foreign secretary also pointed to the worsened situation foreigners in Beijing were in. He added that a large group of Yugoslav citizens had already been flown to their homeland, and that in the most unfavourable variant, which could be the result of a further deterioration of the situation, which Yugoslavia, as a time-tested friend of the Chinese people, wishes to drive away from its thoughts, the last person to leave the country would be Yugoslavia's ambassador in Beijing.

On the possible causes of the tragic reality in China, the Yugoslav foreign secretary said cautiously and with a measure of reserve that the views of the leadership on the paths leading China to its future had been different. Perhaps the issue at stake is a clash between the energetically launched economic opening up and its consequences, which have started to affect sociopolitical trends, which are not cherished by everyone to an equal degree, Loncar said.

In any case, the bloodshedding in Tiananmen Square indicates that the conflict in China has gone out of control and that its intensity is such that much time will be needed for the situation to be fully stabilized and the country is facing (?difficult) days, Loncar said.

As far (?as Yugoslavia) is concerned, the Yugoslav foreign party stressed that what prevailed was a feeling of deep sorrow over the victims [word indistinct] concern over all that was taking place. Yugoslavia attaches special importance to its relations with China and truly desires that the current situation be settled as speedily as possible, with no use of force and with no further casualties, so that the Chinese people can continue along their path of reforms, and all-round progress, Loncar concluded.

No Flights Planned for Evacuation of Beijing

LD0906114989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0923 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, June 9 (TANJUG)—Fifteen Yugoslav Embassy staff and the TANJUG Beijing correspondents will remain in China even if it is decided by Monday [12 June] that the remaining 65 Yugoslavs living and working in Beijing should be evacuated by the first regular JAT flight to Belgrade.

It is now almost certain that no special flights for Beijing will be organized by the end of the week. JAT was refused a permit to land a plane from Singapore, scheduled to fly to Beijing and carry the Yugoslav citizens still in Beijing.

Three days ago, on Tuesday morning [6 June], the first group of some 60 Yugoslavs—members of families of the employed—arrived in Belgrade from Beijing.

The final decision on the return of the remaining Yugoslavs will be reached by the Beijing Embassy, and depends on the further developments of the situation in China.

Kosovo Emergency Measures to Remain in Effect

LD0806195389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1031 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Jun (TANJUG)—At a session presided over by President Janez Drnovsek, the SFRY Presidency discussed the political and security situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and concluded that it has deteriorated as a result of new hostile actions by Albanian nationalist and separatist elements of terrorism and banditry are emerging. For this reason, a statement from the session says, it is necessary to continue to maintain the emergency measures in the province for the time being.

It was concluded that the SFRY Presidency should meet soon to comprehensively consider the situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the possibility of lifting the remaining emergency measures and other measures gradually with the aim of normalizing the situation in the province.

The SFRY Presidency was informed that the number of people who have been detained has been reduced to the minimum and that detention orders will soon be lifted in these few remaining cases. It was reiterated at the session the prospects for peaceful coexistence among all the nations and the nationalities in Kosovo depends primarily on broadly based and persistent political action by organized socialist forces, increased production, and an improvement in the work to solve economic and social problems. The success of these activities depends to a large extent on whether constitutionality and law and, by implication, the rights, duties, and equality of all citizens regardless of their nationality, are being strictly observed.

The SFRY Presidency also considered and adopted a report on the recent visit by Guinean President Lansana Conte.

It was said that the visit and talks between SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek and other Yugoslav officials with President Conte emphasized the traditionally good bilateral relations and the interest in advancing them in all spheres of common interest, particularly in the economic sphere.

Emphasis was placed on the importance of concrete agreements on promoting economic cooperation and on the ways to service Guinea's outstanding debts to Yugoslavia, including greater participation by Yugoslav work organizations in development projects in Guinea and other more stable and long-term forms of economic cooperation.

In the talks on international topics, especially on trends in Europe, the latest events in southern Africa, and the problems of the world debt crisis and the position of developing countries, both sides agreed on the need to seek solutions through greater involvement, in line with the joint platform of developing countries. In this context, the importance was stressed of the coming summit in Belgrade for the future activity of the Nonaligned Movement.

Kosovo Presidency Condemns Recent Protests

AU0706195389 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 3 Jun 89 p 1

["Communique From the Extended Meeting of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo—Hostile Demonstrations Encumber the Situation"]

[Text] At its extended meeting yesterday, chaired by Bajram Selani, the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo assessed the political and security situation in the province following the most recent demonstrations of Albanian nationalists and separatists. Riza Sapundziu, member of the SFRY Presidency, and Sefcet Jasari, member of the Serbian Presidency, also took part in the meeting.

The Presidency stressed that the organization of hostile demonstrations by Albanian nationalists and separatists in Podujevo and Pristina, and attempts to organize them in Gnjilane and Lipljan, had further complicated the political and security situation in the province in recent days. The occasion for the organization of the hostile demonstrations was the visit of the delegation of the European Parliament, as an attempt by the Albanian separatists to display the fact of the alleged danger posed to the Albanian nationality in Kosovo, in order to make

the problem of the Albanians in Yugoslavia an international one, the hostile demonstrations were in essence a continued form of counterrevolutionary activity. As for the way in which they were carried out, with open, public, and vicious hostile statements, they represented an open attack on the social fabric of our country with the aim of destroying the constitutional order, while in Podujevo they also had characteristics of diversionary terrorist actions.

Such hostile actions, the Presidency stressed, during which there was no hesitation to use even firearms, had the aim of maintaining a situation of tension, insecurity, and fear. The Albanian separatists are attempting to hamper the process of stabilizing the situation in Kosovo that has now begun, and the process of integration within the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the country as a whole, which will enable all peoples and nationalities to live in peace and equality.

What is encouraging, the Presidency stressed, is the fact that the enemy's recent actions met with no broad support among the masses, and their activities were strongly condemned by working people and citizens.

The Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo stressed that it is now more than ever necessary to maintain the united support and action of all progressive forces in the country, with the aim of preserving the stability of our common self-managing, socialist community. Disunity and differences in viewing and assessing the problems of Kosovo, the behavior and statements of certain leaders, and certain speeches at the most recent meeting of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and certain other forums are exerting a harmful influence on the general efforts of progressive forces in the province to stabilize the situation as fast as possible.

Yesterday's meeting of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo also examined information relating to the manifestation of hostile activity toward the Yugoslav People's Army. Strongly condemning the various forms of this hostile activity, primarily from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism, which manifests itself in attacks on various military installations and on members of the Yugoslav People's Army, the Presidency called for determination on the part of all those involved in social self-defense and from the authorities in order to vigorously take all legal steps and other measures to oppose, disable, and expose those who are guilty of hostile activity against the Yugoslav People's Army. For this purpose, the Presidency laid down specific measures yesterday, for whose enforcement all bodies and individuals connected with social self-protection at all levels will be responsible, the Provincial Information Committee reported.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

A Call To Oppose Hostile Activity

The Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo stressed that these hostile demonstrations indicated the need for intensifying the effective operation of the system of social-self protection, and the need for greater vigilance and more intensive action on the part of progressive forces and the competent authorities in order to prevent and combat hostile activity. The present politically fraught time in the province demands the determined action of progressive forces as a fundamental condition for guaranteeing a peaceful and safe life for everybody in Kosovo.

The Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo insists on and demands rigorous adherence to the special measures of the SFRY Presidency that are in force and the enforcement of constitutionality and legality, and calls on all working people, citizens, and young people to determinedly oppose and incapacitate all forms of hostile activity. (From the communique of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.)

Journalists Drop Pristina Sunday News Program

LD0706192689

[Editorial Report] Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1630 GMT on 7 June, in its afternoon survey of domestic news, carries the following item:

"Pristina—Pristina Television's journalists and editors of programs in Serbo-Croatian today informed the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, the Commission of Information of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee, the Kosovo Socialist Alliance of Workers Party Provincial Conference, and the Provincial Committee for Information that until further notice they will not broadcast the Sunday news program from the Pristina studio.

"Professional broadcasting of the program in Serbo-Croatian for a wider Yugoslav audience is made almost impossible because of frequent 'technical faults,' which can no longer be justified by 'coincidence and circumstances.' Rather, one could become suspicious of a systematic disturbing of programs, it is said in a petition. It is proposed that the program in Serbo-Croatian should have an independent technical system."

'Special Measures' in Velika Kladusa Explained

AU0806174489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jun 89 p 14

[M. Maric report: "Special Measures in Velika Kladusa"]

[Text] Velika Kladusa, 31 May—The truth is that special measures were introduced in Velika Kladusa and not emergency measures. We did this in order to intensify the activities of all organs and organizations in a calmer atmosphere.

This was announced after today's session of the Velika Kladusa Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection by its president, Mehmed Latic.

According to him, by introducing the special measures they wanted to facilitate the more efficient working of the inspection services, the internal affairs organs, and the sociopolitical and self-managing organs and organizations in the commune and to protect social property. However, it can be expected that an already difficult situation will worsen even further in this region.

Latic denied rumors according to which "mass arrests" had been carried out, as well as the mobilization of Army conscripts. The truth is, stated Latic, that one territorial defense unit was mobilized but its members went home after several hours. Regarding the "arrests," this involved the detention of one drunkard and two street hoodlums. It is also true that the presence of the security organs was strengthened, which was quite logical considering the situation that had arisen.

The situation today, the 18th day since the beginning of the protest meetings in Velika Kladusa, is generally quiet. After yesterday's meeting outside the Agrokomerc food plant, the participants went home.

At today's session of the Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection the demand was repeated that all those who had broken the rules in the past 17 days be called to account in the regular procedure.

Lively political activity was taking place in the Agrokomerc production plants and the local communities today, too. The Organization Committee for Protest Meetings headed by Sead Kajtezovic, teacher and one of Fikret Abdic's in-laws, has not stopped working. As announced at last night's session, this committee will meet again in 3 days time and offer its concept for a way out of the Agrokomerc crisis. It is being requested that the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina and other republican bodies cease being the Agrokomerc management board and this collective be put into the hands of the workers. Obviously a quite different vision of a way out of the Agrokomerc deadend is being heralded than the one offered by the management board, headed by Osman Pirija.

The electrified atmosphere of the Velika Kladusa protest meetings is now being transfered into the meeting halls. An official statement is also expected this afternoon from the communal bodies and the Agrokomerc management board on the latest events in this commune.

'Expelled' Bulgarian Turks Seek Refuge in Skopje

AU0806160989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Jun 89 p 14

[Unattributed report: "Exiled Because of Their Names"]

[Text] Skopje, 6 Jun—In simple terms, they have forcibly and impudently expelled us from Bulgaria. They did not even allow us to appeal to anybody, or to collect things for a long and uncertain journey. They only told us to leave Bulgaria in 4 hours. This is how nine Bulgarian citizens of Turkish nationality, who have been in the Turkish Consulate in Skopje since last Friday [2 June], explained how they suddenly, found themselves in exile overnight.

They left behind their dearest, their mothers, brothers, sisters, grandchildren, and other relatives who live in Silistra on the Bulgarian-Romanian border. They did not want their names to be mentioned because they did not want to cause any suffering to their relatives, who have had difficulties with the Bulgarian authorities in the past because they wanted to retain their Turkish names and religion.

Korosec Addresses Group on Party Anniversary

AU0806134789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27-28 May p 11

[V. Simonovic report: "We Are Aiming at a Better Quality of Life"]

[Text] Bohinjska Bistrica, 26 May—A noble pragmatism which will lead to the prosperity of people must replace straying ideological dogmatism and monopolistic power as soon as possible, stressed Stefan Korosec, secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], at celebrations for the 70th anniversary of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (or LCY) and the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party, in Bohinjska Bistrica where the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was formed 50 years ago from the temporary leadership with Tito at its head.

Korosec said that a critical attitude toward one's own past is necessary precisely because of the process of defining the renovation of our project of socialism not only as a vision and practice but also as a way out of the crisis. A return to the source in the search for the new, means coming face to face with a critical assessment of where this involves a crisis of the idea and where this involves a crisis of the practice of socialism. The crisis of the ideas of socialism and its realization is a painful experience and even we ourselves, most of the socialist world, feel this. It is all the more important that in thinking up new possibilities, we constantly have before us the thought that to surpass a certain developmental era it is necessary to also take over its positive achievements, stressed Korosec.

10 Years in the Circle of the Crisis

The search for a way out of the crisis, continued Korosec, has brought many extremes and even ideas which in the past seemed to be heresy even for our generation and younger people. The questions of economic and political pluralism, a civil society, a law-governed state, the freedom and rights of citizens are today the unerring

contents of democratic socialism. This recognition matured in the League of Communists [LC] too slowly. We needed 10 years of crisis, developmental backwardness, and a falling living standard, 10 years of increasing social tensions, conflicts, and nationalisms of all types, and, in recent years, unprincipled political conflicts and republican-provincial fencing off of the information area in order to step out of the vicious circle of unsuccessful attempts at improving the system into social reform which we had decided on even at the First LCY Conference, said Korosec.

We will realize the reforms in social dialogue particularly with the young generation, which must have all the opportunities for real socialism to suit it. With all tolerance we will unyieldingly reject any attempt at imposing various concealed ideas, particularly under the guise of Yugoslavism which some people want to establish through a vote of the majority. We will advocate a search for continuity in the idea of socialism, which we interpret as a multifaceted society of free and wealthy individuals, a society of the togetherness of equal peoples and nationalities, in which nonalignment is not at variance with involvement in Europe, a society which respects the market, efficiency, and all forms of pluralism.

The economic crisis, stressed Korosec, is intensifying interethnic relations which have their own independent political and psychological effects: the national-statist and nationalist blocking of the whole social reform and the mobilization and politicization of the masses solely within national frameworks and on the basis of feelings of national imperilment and not sufficiently on the basis of positive programs. "We cannot achieve the equality of peoples and nationalities by counting heads, making reproaches about exploitation, increasing ethnic distance, and strengthening national exclusivity with national homogenization and the blind following of national leaders, with a national boycott of goods and national-economic pressures, and with the imposition of changes to the federal structure of Yugoslavia. On the contrary, we will achieve this goal by directing strengthened political energy which is also demonstrated in national gatherings for developmental thrusts and for the search for new elements and values of the strategy of brotherhood and unity and, above all, by turning toward reform solutions to problems with the development of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] federalism in Yugoslavia."

Mutually agreed rules of the game in a democratic community of equal peoples and nationalities must ensure the undisturbed flowering of a national identity, economic, political, cultural, and historical diversity and sovereignty, and also the development of what is commonly Yugoslav, stressed Korosec. "It is necessary to hinder both the imposition of a federal supranational center and also the hegemonism of any people. With such an approach in the formulation of the new Constitution as well, we will continue the tradition of the struggle of Communists for the sovereignty and equality of peoples and nationalities which we have always linked with the struggle for workers interests and socialism. This was why the Communist Parties of Slovenia and Croatia were set up more than 50 years before other republics, during the liberation and the first years after the war. The discovery of some Comintern plot as the essence of this struggle was a transparent falsification of history directed toward inflaming nationalism. This is a well-known practice of of all types of nationalist, since history warns among other things that the struggle against nationalism is only successful to the extent and in the places where Communists fight against nationalism, above all in their own community and among their own people."

Economic reform in socialism, stressed Korosec, cannot succeed without political reform and one cannot believe in the intentions of those reformers of the economy who keep quiet about political reform or limit it to changing the relations between the federation and its parts. We are talking about something that is much greater than the actual distribution of administrative powers, this involves changes in relations between citizens as autonomous individuals and proponents of civilian sovereignty and the state as authority. The realization and development of the civilizational achievements of modern political systems does not in the least mean the taking over of other people's experiences or a return to capitalism. If in socialism we want to provide more freedoms and rights and better quality in their realization for the person and citizen, we must first of all provide what has been provided in the most developed states as a result of workers struggles. Without this, our socialism will not become an attractive alternative but an economic, political, cultural, and communications oasis in the self-sufficiency of poverty and lawlessness. There is no third way in this respect, stressed Korosec.

There Is No Sustenance From Propaganda

The propaganda war with which we have been faced not only since the last session of the Central Committee, will not bring bread and a better life, or replies to the challenges of the times but will increase mutual intolerance and misunderstanding and introduce a feeling of insecurity regarding the future of our common life. All members of the Central Committee and its Presidium are responsible for eliminating this work in the Central Committee for the sake of its dignity and authority. Our efforts in this direction will be carried through only with good preparations for sessions and responsible statements by everyone at the plenum, stressed Korosec.

Without strengthening cultural, open, tolerant, and honest dialogue on legitimate differences, the LC will not be able to construct a democratic synthesis. However, only with this synthesis can the LCY confirm its ability as the leading unified force in Yugoslavia during preparations for the 14th Congress. We must prepare the congress with the consciousness that decisions have never been made on issues of common life through outvoting but on the basis of a consensus achieved in congress preparations.

[The following passages appear boxed within the body of the item]

Pluralism Is a Fact

The question of political pluralism is at the focus of attention in all societies which are oriented toward socialist development. There is no socialism without democracy—this is the basic message of the current discussions on this but nevertheless there is no democracy without social, economic, political, and ideological pluralism. The existence of this in our society is a fact. In the LC we must take a step forward in answering the question of what sort of political pluralism we want within the framework of the political system of socialist self-management. We are looking for a solution in the resolution of the dilemma between a single-party and a multiparty political system; the dilemma between one or several political monopolies. Our aim is nonparty political pluralism which would prevent the emergence of political monopolies.

The Central Committee Is Not an Arena

There is no doubt that in the search for new political work methods, it is necessary to develop political marketing even in the LC and that we need critical dialogues and debates just as much because the LCY is not an arena where political enemies are destroyed but an opportunity to smooth over differences in views in an argued way and an opportunity for agreement on the joint policy of all Yugoslav Communists. The new way of political work whereby we transfer unresolved contentious questions onto the public could be a contribution to openness in political work, just as every official has the right to present their stands to the public. Nevertheless, everyone must bear the consequences of and the responsibility for the uncritical stimulation of a climate of nationalist and all other types of euphoria.

Markovic Speaks at U.S.-Yugoslav Consultations

AU0806135589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 May 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Way Out of Tunnel Is Through Profound Reforms"]

[Text] Cavtat, 29 May—Sufficient conditions exist for trade between Yugoslavia and the United States to increase several times over and to exceed the planned $2 billion by 1990—this was stated by Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], addressing the participants in the 15th traditional Yugoslav-U.S. consultations on economic cooperation which opened in the Hotel Croatia this morning.

The United States is Yugoslavia's forth biggest foreign partner (after the USSR, the FRG, and Italy), and it is planned to double the trade, which amounted to $1 billion in 1985, by the end of this decade. According to the president of the government, Yugoslavia cannot be satisfied with these step-by-step shifts (last year the value of trade was $1.5 billion) in the situation when it is facing stagnation of social product and when the standard of living is seriously falling.

Inevitable Opening

It is inevitable that we will open up and join in the European and world development and civilization processes with more resolve and in a different, completely new way, Markovic stressed addressing the audience in Cavtat (and everyone else for whom this clear message was intended). In order to find a way out of this tunnel it is necessary, according to him, to make numerous and profound changes.

The biggest problem of our society is the problem of our economy's efficiency and investments which will not, as we have realized, produce results without the functioning of the market economy with all its effects, and without the motivation of independent economic entities.

However, this cannot be changed and altered without developing political democracy, political democracy that will "focus on people, on their interests and motivation to manage themselves, their freedoms and rights, and thus society as a whole," the president of the FEC said. Proceeding from these basic orientations, and what was outlined as the reform of our society, the FEC has drafted and submitted for consideration (or will do it in the course of next few days) nine new systemic laws, including changes to some laws that were adopted not so long ago.

Placing a special emphasis on the Law on Joint Ventures and the Law on Enterprises (the guests here stressed that the literature on this is increasingly sought after by businessmen in the United States), Ante Markovic said that the changes in these recently adopted laws were made in order to consistently follow the government's orientations and policy.

Nothing Without Integration

We have introduced equal rights for private, mixed, joint, and socially owned enterprises in the Yugoslav market, as well as competition among them. On the basis of this we have opened up space for a very simple transformation of enterprises from one type of ownership to another, just as we have prevented the state from interfering in the business entities' affairs, even at the communal level, by eliminating certain provisions in the Law on Enterprises.

Speaking about other changes in the legislation, the president of the FEC mentioned changes in the banking system which facilitated the founding of mixed banks without any valuation and without having to RAISE ANY loan [bez ikakvih cenzusa i bez ikakvih kredita], banks which will operate as Yugoslav banks with mixed capital—with all the rights that stem from this....similar

profound changes have been made in other spheres, particularly in the monetary-financial and banking spheres, then in the Law on Accounting, the Law on Foreign Currency Dealings, the Law on Foreign Trade, the Law on Employment Relations, and the Law on the basis of the Accounting System.

This entire process, Markovic said, will create new opportunities for the development and functioning of a single integral Yugoslav market with all its positive consequences for development.

Our view is that we cannot have our own market without integrating into the world market, without becoming an integral part of the European and world market. This should be full rather than partial integration.

Speaking about some measures that the FEC has already introduced concerning the liberalization of imports, foreign exchange dealings, and a removal of limits to workers' pay, which is something the U.S. side was particularly interested in, Ante Markovic mentioned the initial results: expansive increase in production, after a long period of lagging behind; higher supply than demand in the Yugoslav market, which is still rising; and an almost 25 percent increase in imports in relation to last year. These results were all accompanied by positive effects such as a considerable increase in foreign currency savings.

The consistency in pursuing the liberalization course has resulted in a reduction in imports dues (including custom duties), by almost $1 billion, as well as a reduction in extra-budgetary expenditure. This has relieved the economy by almost $2 billion.

Necessary Help

Speaking about the need to narrow down the scope for inflation to rise and to eventually combat it, the president of the FEC spoke about Yugoslavia as a different, much more serious, reliable, and acceptable international partner which is not only introducing mixed enterprises, but also joint banks and financial organizations. In this context he found it necessary to tell the audience the following:

"In order to consistently carry out and complete the project that we have been working on, we need support from abroad, we need support from our partners who are interested in this kind of development of our country, and in this kind of development of its resources, partners who are interested in enabling Yugoslavia to become an equal, very interesting, and stabilizing factor in Europe and the world. There are no reasons whatsoever for any reservations about this, and I think that everything that we have done so far is the guarantee that we will consistently endure in this respect....Of course, we need loans, but we are primarily interested in developing a new structure of the economy, new technology, and in the development of the market as a whole with all its characteristics, as well as joint investments and in bearing joint risks."

The work of the Yugoslav-U.S. Council for Economic cooperation will continue tomorrow morning.

Meeting Concludes in Cavtat

AU0806140189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jun 89 p 9

[Slobodan Pavlovic report: "Yugoslav-American Council for Economic Relations Concludes in Cavtat: Biggest Chance Tourism"]

[Text] Cavtat, 31 May—A 3-day meeting of the Yugoslav-American Council for Economic Relations concluded in the Hotel Kroacija here at noon today with the unanimous statement that it was a successful gathering, one of the most successful meetings of its members. The farewell speeches were made by Filip Nouel [name as transliterated], representative of the World Bank of Washington, and Franc Horvat, our federal secretary for economic relations with foreign countries, and they paid tribute to the participants for the work accomplished and expressed hope that the matters discussed here will be transformed into the practice of future economic relations between the two countries.

When all is added up, it is obvious that the presence of Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, and the speech he delivered on Monday imparted a special dimension to this gathering, not only because this was the first time in the history of the gatherings of the businessmen of the two countries (which began in 1975) that the president of the Federal Executive Council personally addressed them, but even more because of the seriousness of his message and the announcement of wide far-reaching reforms that his government has decided upon at its very beginning.

The working part of the gathering—which yesterday morning divided into four commissions—passed chiefly in very specific discussions and harmonization of views on what slows down and hinders the present relations, and on the prospects of their further growth and accelerated development. The beginning and the end of these talks, when the near and distant future is concerned, dwelled on the said speech by the president of the Federal Executive Council the day before yesterday, which is making an increasing impression as the time passes and constitutes a basis on which both sides rest.

Disagreements

Disagreements should be mentioned, because they do exist and as one can see, they are difficult to eliminate in some spheres. First one should draw attention to the section of the new American law on trade (it is called "Super 301") which deals with the treatment of 34

"unfair" foreign partners which, as is known, include Yugoslavia. Our trade surplus with the United States last year (of almost $400 million according to the Washington method of counting, which differs from ours in that it includes reexported goods) is a much smaller problem here—as one could hear from authoritative sides among the guests—than the problem linked with import and other dues which make foreign products uncompetitive in our market.

However, Markovic' speech on Monday helped to overcome these barriers fully. The "protection of intellectual property," which refers to patents and licenses, especially in the pharmaceutical and chemical industries, is another story linked to the problems that have been appearing in the bilateral relations of the two countries since 1985, in the solution of which the guests from the other side of the Atlantic are much interested.

Expectations

The other side, however, informed us very precisely and in much detail what their new trade law is like, especially the section "Super 301," which has a good chance of hitting us over the head from time to time. The law provides that agreements on the "protection of intellectual property" (in our case, this refers above all to pharmaceutical products) should be concluded with "the countries mentioned" within 6 months, and a consistent application and strict observance are then expected.

In the sphere of joint investments, tourism is in the leading place for obvious reasons, both regarding what has been achieved so far and especially regarding what can be further expected. Tourism is a sphere in which the foreign partners—even at our present legislative crossroads—can influence business success most, and at the same time it is a sphere which is least affected by current inflationary blows. Other spheres are of course different and more difficult cases, and the slogan "wait and see" applies. Large, medium, and small businesses are thus lined up as interested in the Yugoslav market and cooperation with our country, and the international monetary institutions (the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, for instance) stand in the same line. Support to the Federal Executive Council and its reforms is very pronounced on their side; now comes the stage of waiting for the results and for taking energetic steps, and especially of waiting for the first signs that the inflation conflagration is calming down.

It is clear to everybody, so clear that there is no need to talk about it, that without this all the agreements reached and all the actions planned will be most seriously jeopardized.

Borstner Decides To Report to Prison Authorities

AU0806172889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Jun 89 p 14

[TANJUG report: "I Am Not Mentally Disturbed"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 6 Jun—Ivan Borstner, one of the four men sentenced by the Ljubljana Military Court, stated at a press conference held on the premises of the Slovene Writers' Association last night that he has decided to go to serve his prison sentence. Let us recall, Borstner should have reported to serve his sentence in the minimum security part of the Hotemez prison on 16 May, but said at that time that he will not go to prison voluntarily.

Borstner stated that he was not in hiding in the last few days, but that he wanted to, as he said, "ignore the authorities' tyrannical power." He expressed the "wish to inform the public that he was alright and the hope that the public will not be taken in by the statements of those who want to present him as a mentally disturbed person."

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